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DEFENCE
OF
Diocesan Episcopacy,
IN
ANSWER to a BOOK
OF
Mr. DAVID CLARKSON,
Lately Published,
ENTITLED,
Primitive Episcopacy.

By HENRY MAURICE, D. D.

L O N D O N:

Printed by *Hannah Clark*, for *James Adamson*,
at the *Angel and Crown* in *St. Paul's Church*
Yard, 1691.

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Episc. Lond. à Sacris.*

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THE PREFACE.

AS in many of his *Actions* the Devil expresses an *Emulation* of the divine power and greatness, and affects to resemble the most high: In the production of *Schism*, he tries to counterfeit the *Creation*. For as God produced this world out of nothing, his power operating without any matter: So the Devil too creates a *Schism* from colour, or the shadow of a pretence, or whatever else may be thought to stand in a nearer degree to nothing.

Now it is the common way to judge of the nature of *Schism*, by the quality of the pretence; if this be slight and frivolous, they conceive the other cannot be dangerous, and must be in a near disposition to admit a Cure. But common experience proves this to be a

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mistake;

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mistake: For on the contrary, where the occasion of difference seems to be most trifling, there we may observe the animosities to be highest. And the reason is plain enough; for he who is resolved to force a quarrel, will lay hold on any pretence; and the more frivolous it is, the more bitterness and rancour it discovers in that Spirit that lusteth to envy. And at the same time, it is a good testimony of the integrity and exactness of the party against which the quarrel is affected, that those who were resolved to break, are forced to take up with so mean Cavils.

When you have done all you can to remove occasion from those who seek offence, the Prediction of our Lord and his Apostles will continue to be accomplished. Offences will come, and Heresies and Schisms must be; and those who are sincere will be made manifest, and those who are otherwise will not be hid. The Enemy of Christian peace does confirm the Gospel, while he endeavours to destroy it by divisions; as the Jews fulfilled the Prophets by condemning the Messiah. While the Church remained under the conduct of the Apostles, in the simplicity of the Christian Faith, and exactness of Discipline, it might be expected there should be no Dissenters. But those golden times, for our comfort, have left us their complaints, that then, there were railings, evil surmises, and perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds

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minds, and destitute of the truth; *even then* there were false Apostles, deceitful Workers, transforming themselves into the Apostles of Christ. *Then as well as now,* there were some who separated themselves, and forsook the Assemblies of the faithful.

S. Paul the popular and complying Apostle, who became all things to all men, had no small struggle with this spirit of Separation. Some were such proficients in a free censoriousness, as to think of him as though he walked according to the flesh; some disparaged his Gifts, and despised his bodily presence as weak, and his speech contemptible; detracting from him doubtless, to add to themselves the character of more acceptable, and more edifying Teachers. Some were puffed up, despised his authority, and made divisions in the Churches under his care. He who healed all manner of diseases, who raised the dead, and could cast out a Heathen spirit of Divination, found it a harder matter to deal with the spirit of separation, that operated in the such false Prophets as bore the forms and titles of Christianity.

The Divine providence permitted many Demoniacks in our Saviour's and the Apostles time, when God conferred miraculous abilities to dispossess them; but seems to have short-

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ned the chain of evil Spirits in succeeding ages, in the same proportion that he lessened the gifts by which they were mastered. But the Spirit of separation was still suffered to practice his Arts of deluding, and to break the peace of the Church, by infinite variety of pretences. Sometimes it was too pure for the mixed society of the Church; sometimes it was exalted with new Revelations, and those who would not receive them were carnal; and in short, was so diligent in inventing reasons, and in snatching occasions of dividing Communion, that all the Topicks of Schism seemed to be exhausted.

But this Spirit it seems will not be stinted, nor confine its self within its own ancient Precedents. For in these last times it is become nice, in taking offence beyond former examples, and beyond all measure acute in assigning causes of dissatisfaction. The old Church-dividers swallowed many things, that our Dissenters strain at as fundamental corruptions; and most of the things, which they object as the causes of their departure from us, were never known before to have made any difference between Christians. For who, I pray, before our Dissenters, separated from a Church, for having a set Form, and Order of Divine Service? Who before our times ever took offence at the use of the Prayer that Christ taught his Disciples? What seeds from
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the beginning, forsook the Assemblies of the faithful, for using the sign of the Cross, as the common Ensign of the faith of Christ crucified, upon the solemn admission of Church-members? Who ever divided the Communion of any Church, because it had a Bishop? Aerius indeed pretended to see no difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter; but this was not the reason, but only the effect of his separation: for having no Bishop of his Communion, he was forced to represent them as unnecessary, though he durst not condemn their Institution. It is strange, that these blemishes should so long deform the Church, and no Greek or Latin Sectary have the sagacity to discern them; that so palpable motives of separation should escape the spirit of Maximilla, and the acuteness of Tertullian; that the Novatians reputed skillful men in observing faults, should be so little perspicacious, as not to discover such gross abominations: Or that the Donatists should puzzle themselves so long, with a story of Cecilian, that they could never make out, and leave such Topicks as these untouched. I cannot think the people of former ages so gross, as some of our Virtuosi may represent them. From the principles they chose, they reasoned as well as we, and their Sectaries wanted no wit to find out such objections of Nonconformity, as our Dissenters have advanced. But as I am apt in some things to be favourable to Antiquity; so

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in this case, I cannot but commend the judgment of ancient Schismatics, for not using such frivolous pretences, as must unavoidably expose them to the scorn of all discerning men, who seeing through such miserable shifts, must conclude, that no ingenuous mind could use them, and nothing but consummate and hardened Hypocrisie persist in them.

But of all the Pleas preferred by Dissenters against the Church of England, none looks more new, or more affected, than that which concerns Diocesan Episcopacy. The old quarrel about the prebeminence of Bishops above Presbyters, seems in a manner to be dropped, and all the difficulty now to remain, concerning the bounds of the Bishops Territory, and the numbers belonging to his Inspection; yet in ancient times this made no difference.

For Sozomen (a) observing the great inequality of ancient Dioceses, and some other little usages, in which the Churches of one Country differed from those of another, commends the wisdom of ancient Bishops, who looked upon it as a great piece of folly, to

(a) εὐνοίας ἢ καὶ μαλὰ δικαίως ἀπέλαβον ἐδῶν ἐν τοῖς ἀλλήλοις χάρις &c. SOZ. l. 7. c. 19.

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divide communion about these matters: The greatness or smallness of a Diocese making in their opinion, no difference in the office. The Synod assembled at Antioch, in their Letter (b) to Julius Bishop of Rome, let him understand, that they do not account themselves inferiour to him in authority, though their Churches were not so great or populous as his; but are far from disowning him to be of their Order, because his Diocese did exceed theirs. And Jerom (c) declares himself freely upon this point, that the greater or lesser compass of a Diocese, made no alteration in the Episcopacy; but the poor Bishop of Eugubium had the same authority and order with that of Rome. Yet now it seems this difference is become fundamental: And Mr. Clarkson contends, that there is but one sort of Bishops to be endured, such only, who have the charge of no more than a single Congregation. This we are told by him, the Apostles intended; this the first three or four Ages practised; and within that space of time there was no other Episcopacy. How well he hath performed this undertaking will appear from this Book, in which I have been so far from dissembling, or passing by any Testimony that might seem material, that I

(b) Soz. l. 3. c. 8.

(c) Hieron. Ep. ad Evagr.

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am afraid to have incurred very just censure, for being too minute and punctual in my answers, beyond the merit of the *Objections*. Yet for this I may be allowed to use the plea of *Apuleius* (d) on the like occasion, that I have taken notice of many frivolous things, least to some I might seem to decline them as unanswerable, and not to omit them out of just contempt. And if my answers to some mean and captious remarks, may seem sometimes to tast of the futility of the *Objections*; yet I hope this will be imputed to him, who was not ashamed to offer such things in evidence, and not to me who was concerned to disprove them.

Some may perhaps expect an *Apology* for delay, that the Book came not out sooner. But for this, I am not solicitous for an excuse, apprehending rather the contrary fault, that it is come out too soon. For I found in the Book I answer, so many marks of haste and

(d) Ne videar cuipiam si quid ex frivolis præteriero, id agnovisse potius quam contempsisse, — quod si forte inepta videbor, & oppido frivola velle defendere, illis debet ea res vitio verti quibus turpe est etiam hæc objectasse, non mihi culpæ dari, cui honestum erit, etiam hæc diluisse.
Apul. Apol.

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precipitation, that I thought my self obliged to take warning; though the design of that work seems to have taken up a great part of the Author's life. In such variety of facts, so remote, and many of them so obscure, there are too many things to be considered to admit of haste: And after all the care, and the leisure one can take, it is neither easie nor usual, in this kind of work, to avoid oversights, and omissions of some things very material.

The Author of the Preface may perhaps think himself neglected, that he is not thought considerable enough to deserve an answer. He promised himself, it seems, that the Epistle Recommendatory should find the same entertainment with the worthy Treatise of Mr. Clarkson. But Diviners are sometimes disappointed. For my part I am resolved to make a difference between the Book and the Recommendation. And I hope Mr. Chauncey will see some reason why he should not take it ill. I wish he had been able to have represented the references right: But we must forgive where it is not to be had, and I dare say the good man did his best.

But why should he be angry with Dr. Sherlock, for defending Protestant Principles, against the Papists, upon the grounds of the Church

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Church of England? Why did not he or some of his Brethren step out to vindicate Congregational Episcopacy, against Father Ellis and his three Collegues, who made but four Dioceses of this whole Kingdom? For God's sake tell me, who maintained Protestant Principles then upon the foundation of the Dissenters? But the Serpent and the venomous Vermin are subtler than the other Beasts of the field; for in hard weather they are not to be found on the face of the Earth, but are crept into their holes; but when a warmer season comes, they crawl out, to snap at the heels of those who had endured the severities of the winter.

If he expected the same Treatment with Mr. Clarkson, he should have written intelligibly, and writ sense. But when he runs the Changes upon Jus Divinum, Humanum, and Apostolicum; when he talks of Hermaphroditick Divinity, of Office-Charge, of Office Discrimination, of Appendix-Courts and Vestments, and Canons among the Heteroclites of his Divinity, what can a man do but wonder and keep silence? Believe me, I would as soon dispute with a Paper-mill, as undertake to answer a man of such amazing language. But for the Heteroclites, I may perhaps know what they may import; it is when a thing changes its kind:

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*As for Example, when a man leaves his
shop and the business of his Calling, to write
Letters Recommendatory of what he does
not understand.*

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Errata's which disturb the Sense.

PAge 18. Line 14. for *Passover*, read *Pentecost*. p. 31.
l. 6. for *disprove*, r. *prove*. p. 37. l. 18. for *future*,
r. *further*. p. 69. l. 6. for *useful*, r. *unfit*. p. 78. l. 20.
for *first*, r. *fifth*. p. 98. l. 9. after *Bishop of*, add, *the City*.
p. 358. l. 27. for *populously*, r. *pompously*. p. 361. l. 16.
after he *does*, add, *not*. p. 406. l. 8. for *Fermiffus*, r.
Telmiffus.

A
D E F E N C E
O F

Dioceſan Epiſcopacy, &c.

IT is an eaſie matter for thoſe who confine their Charity, as they do their Primitive Epiſcopacy, to a ſingle Congregation, to charge all who differ from them, as Men wholly governed by *Prejudice* and *Interſeſt*. The fondneſs they have for their own Conceits, renders them incapable of any Jealouſie of their Truth or Evidence; and if theſe Notions do not receive ſuch Entertainment, as the Indulgent Author is perſwaded they deſerve, and Succeſs do not answer (a) Opinion, it muſt be aſcrib'd to the unequal *Encounter* they had with *Prejudice and Interſeſt*, Things that do frequently baffle the beſt Evidence in Perſons otherwiſe very diſcerning and judicious.

It is juſt indeed, that they ſhould bear the reproach of Inſincerity, who reſuſe full or competent Evidence, when the Proofs riſe up

(a) Mr. Clarkſon's Primitive Epiſcopacy, pag. 1.

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A
D E F E N C E
O F

Diocesan Episcopacy, &c.

IT is an easie matter for those who confine their Charity, as they do their Primitive Episcopacy, to a single Congregation, to charge all who differ from them, as Men wholly governed by *Prejudice* and *Interest*. The fondness they have for their own Conceits, renders them incapable of any Jealousie of their Truth or Evidence; and if these Notions do not receive such Entertainment, as the Indulgent Author is perswaded they deserve, and Success do not answer (a) Opinion, it must be ascrib'd to the unequal *Encounter* they had with *Prejudice and Interest*, Things that do frequently baffle the best Evidence in Persons otherwise very discerning and judicious.

It is just indeed, that they should bear the reproach of Insincerity, who refuse full or competent Evidence, when the Proofs rise up

(a) *Mr. Clarkson's Primitive Episcopacy, pag. 1.*

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to a Demonstration, or are direct and suitable to the nature of the Matter. But for Men to advance new Notions and Paradoxes, concerning things at very great Distance, of which, the Proofs are obscure, and the Evidence only conjectural; and then to cry out upon those who are not convinc'd, as Persons of no Faith or Equity, argues a Confidence very unusual, and rarely to be seen either in understanding or good Men.

That for the space of the first three Centuries, a Bishop was no more than a Pastor to a single Congregation; is in the first place, a Conclusion very new, and never heard, that I can learn, before the last Age. The space of time intervening between the nearest point of the *three Centuries* assign'd, and the Birth of this Notion wants little of Thirteen compleat Centuries; and therefore the Evidence of a matter so remote, ought to be positive and direct; and it must be expected, that some Ancient Witnesses who liv'd within the compass of that Term, or in the next Age at least, should be produced and have declared expressly, that no Bishop had more than one single Congregation, or that it was the Opinion of those Times, that a Bishop ought to have no more: If but one Author of Credit had left this Testimony, the circumstantial Evidence might reasonably be admitted for Confirmation; but when all the Proof of a Fact so distant, consists only of Conjectures and Suspicions, and unconcluding Circumstances; I hope that in this time of Liberty, an honest Man may refuse to believe so obscure and unnecessary Inferences, without any Dimi-
nution

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nition of his Reputation. It may be very true, that some Villages had Bishops; that several Cities were not greater than some of our Market-Towns; that all the People may be said in an usual sense to be present at Church in the greatest Cities; all this may be true, and yet very far from proving the Point in Question.

The Conclusion, Congregational Episcopacy, may remain still at as great a distance from these Premises, as the Primitive Times we speak of are from the present Age, or as some gifted Mens Discourses are from the Text.

When this fancy of Primitive Congregational Episcopacy came first into Mens heads, the Diocesan way had been every where Establish'd; and that we may not take this for a piece of Popery, no Churches came nearer to the Congregational Standard, than those that were under the immediate Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Rome*; nor was it pretended, that Diocesan Bishops were new; they had an acknowledg'd Prescription of above twelve hundred years; but the time of its rise was not so positively assign'd. *Cartwright* pretended to trace some footsteps of the Congregational way in the two first Centuries; but I do not find that he, or the Dissenters of his Time, had made the Conclusion so universal, that no Bishop within that compass of Time, had more than one Congregation. *Rome* and *Alexandria*, and the greatest Cities seem'd to stand out, and remain'd Exceptions; but now they too are taken in, and reduc'd to the Congregational Model. It is something hard to conceive, how the Species of Church-Government should come to

be chang'd, and no Account of so important a Change be transmitted to Posterity : Those who fancy Presbytery turn'd into Episcopacy in the former part of the second Century, make some shew of Reply, when they say, that it is a very obscure Age, and hath left little or nothing of its Story behind it. But the Ages in which Primitive Episcopacy is pretended to have been transform'd into Diocesan, were of another Character ; they abounded with Learning and Writers, and a great many of their Books have been preserv'd, but not the least hint of this Fundamental Alteration of Church-Government. What ! so just an Offence given by the Church, and no Sectary, no Schismatick to reproach her ? Those who were so minute and trifling in their Cavils, could they overlook so obvious a Topick as this of Diocesan Innovation ? Nay, these very Sects, where their Numbers made them capable, liv'd themselves under the Diocesan Way : If then in times of so much Division, Contention and Dispute, such a change as this could be introduc'd without any Opposition, and all Parties of different Opinions and Interest conform'd to it ; for my part, I cannot see how it can be denied, that it was done by Miracle : For what greater Miracle can we well imagin, than that so many sorts of Christians divided by Principles and mutual Aversions, should conspire to receive this pretended alteration of Episcopacy ? So that those who deny it to be Primitive, must allow it a higher Title, since Miracle carries with it much greater Authority than Prescription.

Mr.

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Mr. Clerkson therefore had great reason to apprehend, that it would appear a great Paradox, to hear that a Bishop of Old was but the Pastor of a single Church, or that his Diocese was no larger than one Communion Table might serve. It does indeed seem very strange; not only to those who take the Measures of Ancient times and things by their own, or are much concern'd they should not be otherwise than they are now; but most of all to those who have competent knowledg of those Times, and who are qualify'd to make some Judgment of the State of the Primitive Church, from the Testimonies of Ecclesiastical Writers. It is a great weakness to take the measures of Ancient times, by our own; (a) but I know none more unfortunate in this way of reckoning than the Author himself, who measures the Ancient Territories of Greek and Roman Cities by Liberties that belong to Ours; and demands with more Zeal than Knowledg, *How many Cities in the Roman Empire can be sh wn us, where this Jurisdiction of the City Magistrates reach'd farther than it doth in our English Cities?*

*Urbe[m] quam dicunt Romam, Melibae, pu'avi
Stultus Ego huic nostra[m] similem.*

But of this in its proper place

How great Advantages may be expected from a clear discovery of, what the Author thinks to be, true in this particular, I cannot readily discern, having not the assistance of his Prospective to discover things at so vast a distance; much less can I see that it may contribute much to the deciding of the Controversies among us about Church-Government, and bringing them to a happy Com-

posure. Now to deal liberally with this Notion of Primitive Episcopacy, let us yield up the point at once, and grant, that no Bishop for the three first Centuries had more than one Congregation: But at the same time, let us take the Reason along with us, that for so long time, no City had more Christians then might meet in one Church; no Bishop then could have more Congregations then all the Christians of his City and Territory did compose. But the Controversies about Church-Government are still undecided, for this does not preclude the Bishops from a right of having many Congregations under their inspections, if more had been. The Controversies about Church-Government turn upon questions of Right, and not of Fact. But matters of Fact are pertinently alledg'd to prove a Right, where the Fact does involve a Judgment of Right; but where it is purely accidental, it has no consequence on either side. Two great Casuists upon a certain time fell into Dispute about the Lawfulness of taking Tobacco, the Dispute was carried on with great Learning and Niceness, one made it out clearly, that none of the Primitive Christians ever used it, and that for many Centuries there was not one Christian Smoker in the World. The other desired to know the Principle upon which they condemn'd it, and was told very seriously, that there were no Church censures against it, nor could there well be any, for the Plant had not yet been brought to these Parts of the World. So the Controversy remain'd undecided by this negative instance of the Primitive Church, because their forbearance was not the effect of Judgment

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Judgment or Choice, but from an absolute ignorance of the matter.

Now for deciding of *Controversies*, and bringing things to a happy *composure*, I was resolv'd to signalize my Compliance, and submit to a Paradox, not for the sake of any Testimony brought by the Author, but to avoid Importunity, and upon the account of Peace. But seeing all our *Controversies* about Church-Government remain in the same state after all my yeelding, I conceive that I am at liberty to revoke my Concession, and to Contest the matter of Fact, and to shew that the Testimonies alleg'd by Mr. Clerkson, do not make sufficient proof of the point under debate, *that a Bishop in the three first Centuries was no more than Pastour to a single Congregation.*

For the *Scripture-times* there will be little difficulty, since as much is acknowledged by the most Learned and Judicious Assertors of Prelacy, as need be desired. (a) Arch-Bishop Whitgift is brought in to witness, that the Gospel was not generally receiv'd any where when it was first Preach'd. That when Matthias was chosen, the whole Church was gathered in one place, and so it was when the Deacons were chosen; this may be true, and yet not reach to the whole extent of *Scripture-times*, but only to those instances of Popular Election, which were alledg'd by Cartwright, the latest of which seems to be within a Year of our Saviour's Ascension: and if for the first Year of the Apostles Preaching, the Church might not Increase beyond a single Congregation, it will

(a) *Prim. Ep. p. 2.*

be of no great consequence either for or against Diocesan Episcopacy : yet it is plain from Scripture that the matter of Fact was otherwise. For in the Election of *Matthias*, the Assembly consisted of about *a hundred and twenty* ; (b) whereas our Saviour before his Ascension appear'd in an Assembly of *five hundred Brethren* ; (c) so that not a fourth part of the Church was present at that Election. When the Deacons were elected, the whole Church of *Jerusalem* could not be present in that Assembly, for the number of the Converts was then too great, especially considering the Christians had not the convenience of very capacious places to meet in. A great part of the Church was not concern'd to be present on that occasion, for the Women had no part in Election, nor perhaps Servants, nor Children tho' of Age, while they liv'd in their Fathers House. But that the whole Church could not be present, I shall then shew more fully, when I consider the ways by which our Author endeavours to diminish the first-Fruits of the Gospel, and to lessen the Church of *Jerusalem*.

Bishop *Downham* is alledg'd to as little purpose : For all he affirms, is, *that at the very first Conversion of Cities, the whole number of People converted was able to make but a small Congregation*. For who can tell how far he intended the *very first Conversions* should extend ? The closing of the Scriptures of the New Testament was above sixty Years after the *first Conversions* of many great Cities ; and therefore, tho' at the first Conversions the number of Christians

(b) *Acts* 1. (c) *1 Cor.* 15.

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might be but small, yet a Church may improve something in threescore Years, and grow up from one *small*, to many great Congregations. *No instance*, says our Author, *can be brought against this, but the three thousand Converted at Jerusalem, (a) to which some would add five thousand more.* Some would add! Let it not displease any zealous Brother of the Congregational way, that St. Luke has recorded the number of those Converts; his words are so plain, and his sense so necessary that they cannot be avoided by any shift: *(b) many of those who heard the word, (i. e. then Preach'd, not in a set Assembly, but occasionally in the Temple) believ'd, and the number of the men was about five thousand.* But *can there no instance be brought against the Independent fancy, besides these two?* Our Author, it seems, was willing to overlook such passages, as testify the great Increase of Christians in Jerusalem after this happy beginning. *(c) St. Luke relates, that after the fearful end of Ananias and his Wife, Believers were the more added to the Church, multitudes both of Men and Women.* The Ethiopick Version deserves to be considered in this place, for instead of *Κολαῖσαι*, the Author of that Version seems to have read *Κολαζέιν*, as if the Jewish Magistrates durst not then restrain the Preaching the Apostles, because the People magnified them for their Miracles, and then great additions were made to the Church. But St. Luke proceeds to give yet greater Instances of the In-

(a) Acts 2. 41. (b) Acts 4. 4. (c) Acts 5. 13, 14.
μάλλον προσθίεντο -- πλήθη ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν

crease of the Church of *Jerusalem*; (a) Before the choice of the Deacons, *the number of the Disciples was multiplied*; and immediately after the Institution of these Officers, *the word of God increas'd, and the number of the Disciples multiplied in Jerusalem greatly, and a great company of the Priests, or as the Syriack reads, of the Jews, were obedient, or submitted to the Faith.* It may be said that no certain Number is express'd in these places, and therefore they conclude nothing. It is true, the Numbers of these later Converts are not set down; but must they therefore be lost to the Church and Bishop of *Jerusalem*? These Expressions of *multitudes of Men and Women, of Increasing greatly, or mightily, of great Company, or Croud, are of very great content, and capable of receiving many Myriads; and if we compare them with these general terms, of which we know the definite sum, it must be allow'd by all rules of speaking, that those indefinite expressions must exceed the other.* For instance, when an accession of five thousand was made to the Church, it is said, that *many of those who heard the word, believ'd.* If the Relator had not express'd the Number, but left it to the discretion of independent Calculators, I am afraid this Indefinite word, *Many,* would never have yielded us an hundred Converts; and yet it seems it comprehended no less than five thousand. Wherefore we may reasonably conclude, that those general words that denote exaggeration of multitude, and a sum unusual

(a) *Acts 6. 1, 7. πληθύνοντων τῶν Μαθητῶν—ἐπληθύνειτο ὁ αἵματις τῶν μαθ. σφόδρα πῶς πῶς ὄχλος.*

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and wonderful, cannot but comprehend more than those thousands of the first Conversions. This would be sufficient, tho' there should be no farther Evidence, to perswade any equal Reader, that the Church of *Jerusalem* was now grown too numerous to meet all in one place, especially considering the Christian Assemblies in those times were held, κατ' οἴκον, *from house to house*. But there remains yet another instance, that seems more definite and decisive. For *James* and the Elders of *Jerusalem* observe to *St. Paul*, that there were many *Myriads* of the Circumcision which believed. (a) *Thou seest Brother how many Thousands [Myriads] of Jews there are which believe, and they are all zealous of the Law. The multitude must come together, &c.* If these *Myriads* were present at *Jerusalem*, when *St. Paul* was there; there will be little reason to deduct nineteen parts out of twenty, (b) upon the account of Strangers, as our Author undertakes to do. For I hope to make it appear, that the Pentecost was over, before the Apostle arriv'd at *Jerusalem*.

Now lest these great numbers of Converts should grow into a Diocese consisting of several Congregations, Mr. *Clerkson* interposes a timely Caveat in these words; (c) *What may be argu'd from hence for great numbers of Christians in Cities, proceeds upon a meer mistake, which I shall clearly remove. For it is but a small proportion of those Thousands, that can in reason be accounted to the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, and so fix'd Members of that Church, for they were Converted at one of the great Feasts; at which time*

(a) *Acts* 21. 20. (b) *Prim. Ep.* p. 6. (c) *Prim. Ep.* p. 4.

the Inhabitants were not by far a twentieth part of those that were assembled in the City.

This Exception concerns only the three thousand who were converted on the Feast of Pentecost; but the *five Thousand* that followed, and the *Multitudes of Men and Women*, and the *Multiplying greatly*, and the *great Company*, will remain to the Church of *Jerusalem*, notwithstanding this exception. For our Author does not so much as suggest, that these Accessions were made upon any of the three Feasts, and therefore without these three Thousand, there will be sufficient number for several Congregations.

That it may appear, what small proportion the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* (a) held to the Multitude that resorted thither on the solemn Feasts, our Author *enters into an enquiry*, both after the number of the Inhabitants of that City, and of those that resorted from other places to those Solemnities. To begin with the latter of these, (b) Josephus tells us, and out of him (c) Eusebius, that Cestius Gallus willing to represent to Nero, who contemn'd the Jews, the strength of that People, desired the Priests to take an account of the number, and to make the Story short, from the number of the Pascal-Sacrifices, they computed all the Jews present at that Passover to be about three Millions: (d) But then they were all in a manner Foreigners, (e) for a great part of that multitude came from abroad; whereas the Inhabitants

(a) Prim. Ep. p. 4. (b) Jos. de bell. Jud. l. 7. c. 1. p. 969. (c) H. E. l. 3. c. 5. (d) Pr. Ep. p. 5. (e) Jos. B. J. l. 7. c. 17.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 13

of Jerusalem (*a*) were but sixscore Thousand, as we learn by Hecataeus: And that we may not fancy Hecataeus to have under-reckon'd the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, our Author intimates a quite contrary suspicion. It may be Hecataeus or his Informer, over-reached as well in the Number of the Citizens, as in the Measure of the City. He makes the Circuit of it fifty Furlongs, whereas (*b*) Josephus says, it was but thirty-three, and the Circumvallation of Titus but thirty-nine. From all this therefore he concludes, that the Inhabitants of Jerusalem upon the most favourable Computation, will scarce make the twentieth part of the Multitude which usually attended those Feasts, and consequently not a twentieth part of the Converts mention'd in the Acts can be supposed to belong to the Church of Jerusalem.

Although I have already shew'd, that this concerns only the three Thousand converted on the day of Pentecost; yet because it is new, and carries with it the air of Demonstration, I will beg the Readers patience, while I let him see, with how great Pains and Learning some Authors can trifle. For to find out the proportion between the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the Pascal Assemblies, it is necessary to know the number of each at the same time, or at least-wise in the same Age. Now Hecataeus, from whom he learns the number of the Citizens, liv'd under Alexander the Great and Ptolomy the Son of Lagus; but the numbers of those who resorted to the Passover, was taken

(a) Jof. cont. App. l. 1.

(b) Jof. B. J. l. 6. c. 17.

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(a) *Prim. Ep.* p. 4. (b) *Jos. de bell. Jud.* l. 7. c. 1. p. 969. (c) *H. E.* l. 3. c. 5. (d) *Pr. Ep.* p. 5. (e) *Jos. B. J.* l. 7. c. 17.

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(*a*) Jof. cont. App. l. 1.

(*b*) Jof. B. J. l. 6. c. 17.

by the order of *Cestius Gallus* under *Nero*, i. e. above three hundred and fifty years after. The Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* might be much more numerous in the Apostles time, than in the Age of *Hecatus*, and therefore this Calculation cannot be certain, and this Spectre of Demonstration vanishes.

That I may not seem to want a due regard for Mr. *Clerkson's* diligence upon this Point, I will not dismiss his Calculation with so short a Reply, but examine every point of it apart, and shew of what consequence it may be to the present Question, concerning Congregational Episcopacy. 1. The three Millions return'd to *Nero* came from no authentick *Census*, or any certain account, but only from conjecture; and one may reasonably suspect, that the Priests, to set out the greatness of the Nation to a Prince who had them in contempt, would be apt to over-reckon. 2. *Jerusalem* could not receive so many Millions, if the circuit of it were but thirty-three furlongs, as we read in *Josephus*, and our Author does contend it was no more. 3. If this Account of the Priests should be admitted, yet that Passover might be extraordinary, and like that of *Josiah*, of which it is said, (a) that surely there was not holden such a Passover, from the days of the Judges that judg'd Israel, nor in all the days of the Kings of Israel, nor of the Kings of Judah. And that this Number was extraordinary, appears from *Josephus*, who accounting for the incredible Number said to

(a) 2 Kings 23. 22.

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be slain and taken in *Jerusalem*, informs us, that the Jews resorted thither out of all the Country, and were unawares shut up in that fatal Siege; and yet the Sum was about twelve hundred thousand persons, not half of that number upon which our Author calculates: Yet this seem'd so extraordinary, (a) that *Josephus* to make it pass, observes, that *the greatest part indeed were Jews, but not Inhabitants of Jerusalem or Judea*. 4. Though a middle number might be agreed on for calculating the Pascal Assemblies, yet would it be of no use in the present Question; for we do not read in Scripture of any Converts made on the Passover; but the three Thousand which are now under debate, were converted on the Feast of *Pentecost*, and from the resort of the one, no guess can be made of the Numbers that repair'd to the other; for the Passover was much more frequented than the Pentecost. It is true, that the Law seems to make no difference between the three Festivals, but obligeth all the Males to repair to the place which God should choose upon each of those Feasts. But the Practice of the Jews seems to have been otherwise, long before our Saviours Time. (b) *Lyra* observes, *That those who were far from Jerusalem were excused from*

(a) Τέτ'ων τὸ πλεον ὁμόφυλοι μὲν ἄλλ' ἐκ ἐπ'αίριον, Jos. B. J. l. 6. c. 45. Ed. Frob.

(b) *Lyra* in Exod. 23. 17. Deut. 16. 16. *Tamen cum illis qui erant remoti a Jerusalem aliquando dispensabatur, de duobus vicibus sc. Pentecoste, & Festo Tabernaculorum: Veruntamen illis qui erant longe a Jerusalem parcebatur de duobus Festis.*

attending on the two Feasts of Weeks and Tabernacles. And (a) Ystella cites some Jewish Authors to this purpose, *That the Law obliged those only who liv'd near the Sanctuary; the rest were dispens'd with, so they appeared once a year, i. e. at the Passover.* He mentions others that were of opinion, that the Law was satisfi'd, if every third year all the Males came up to the three Feasts; but he himself thought, that either they were obliged yearly to come twice, *i. e.* on the Passover and Feast of Tabernacles, for the Pentecost being so near to the Passover, they must be excus'd for that, or else some years they were to come up only once, *i. e.* at Easter; on others twice, *i. e.* at Easter and the Feast of Tabernacles; for every seventh year the Law was to be read on that Feast; so that those who were any thing remote, were never bound to go up at Pentecost. But besides the Males oblig'd to attend on the three Festivals, the devout Women and Children, not yet under the Obligation, went up to the Passover out of voluntary Devotion: (b) So *Elkanah's* Wives went to the yearly Sacrifice at *Shilo*. So the Parents of our Saviour (c) *went up to Jerusalem every year at the Feast of the Passover.* Now those Interpreters, who are concerned to make *Joseph*, as touching the Law blameless, send him up three times a year according to the Law, and are content to have these words understood of the Blessed Virgin, that she went up but once a year, and that

(a) Yft. in Deut. 16. Vid. Lorin. in Deut. 16. & Abulens.

(b) 1 Sam. 1. 3. (c) Luke 2. 41

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at the Passover. Though others understand them of both our Saviours Parents, as if they had gone up but once; and *Lyra* according to his Notion mention'd above, observes that *Galilee* was remote, and therefore within the Dispensation for two of the three Feasts; and indeed the Expression of *St. Luke* does not easily admit of any other construction. And the words of the Book of *Samuel* do as plainly intimate, that *Elkanah* himself, though a *Levite*, went up to *Shilo* but once a year: (a) *This man*, says the Text, *went up out of his City yearly to worship in Shilo*. And after his Wife had vow'd, and he and his Family had return'd home, it follows; *wherefore it came to pass, when the time was come about, after Hannah had conceiv'd, that she bare a Son, and call'd his Name Samuel; and the Man Elkanah and all his House went up to offer unto the Lord the yearly Sacrifice and his Vow*. So that by this relation, *Elkanah* seems not to have gone up to *Shilo*, from the time *Hannah* vow'd in the Temple, until after the birth of *Samuel*, i. e. the space of a whole year. But however these places may be understood, it is allow'd by all, that the Passover was the chiefest for Solemnity and resort of Worshipers, of all the Feasts of the Jews, and therefore a computation of the Strangers at *Jerusalem* on a Pentecost, from the extraordinary Numbers said once to have been at a Passover, must be very fallacious; for the same Calculation cannot serve both.

(a) 1 Sam. 1. 3, 20, 21.

Pentecost

Now lest this Argument should lose any thing of Advantage by being too diffuse, the force of it shall be contracted into less compass, that it may be the easier observ'd. 1. Because three Millions are reported to have been at one Passover, therefore every Passover had as many. Many will be apt here to deny the Consequence: But let it pass. And then the Argument proceeds farther. If so many resorted to the Passover, then the same Number came up at Pentecost; this is hard to grant: But who can deny any thing to such a Disputant? To go on therefore, If three Millions were present at the ~~Passover~~, on which three Thousand Souls were Converted, therefore not above a hundred and fifty could belong to *Jerusalem*; because in *Hecataeus* his time, that City had but a hundred and fifty thousand Inhabitants. Wonderful! Who can find in his heart to deny any thing so Consequential? But had that City receiv'd no increase from the time of *Hecataeus* to that of *Nero*? (a) *Josephus* mentions several Improvements it had under the *Asmonean* Kings, whose Family united the Priesthood and the Crown, and under whom this Sacred Metropolis could not but receive great Advantage. Afterwards we have an account, that the old Walls could not hold it, and that the Inhabitants multiplied so much, that they were forc'd to build without the Gates; and these new-buildings in the Time of *Claudius*, were so considerable, as to make as it were another City. Yet our Author

(a) E. J. l. 5. c. 13.

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keeps to his old Computation; which is just as if the Inhabitants of *London* were to be computed by what they were about three hundred years ago. It may seem perhaps no less ridiculous to refute such an Argument; than it was to make it. Yet because our Author suspects even this Number in *Hecataeus* as too great, I must take the Liberty at least-wise to explain this matter a little more.

Mr. *Clerkson* suspects his Author to have over-reach'd in his Number of the Citizens at *Jerusalem*, (a) because he had done so in the measure of the City, of which he makes the Circuit to be fifty Furlongs; whereas (b) *Josephus* says, it was but Thirty-three, and the Circumvallation of *Titus* to be Thirty-nine. And to shew the Number of Inhabitants in *Jerusalem* could not be great even in the beginning of the last War; he observes; that when Twelve Thousand were slain in *Jerusalem* in one Night, the loss is represented, (c) as though the greatest part of the Citizens had been destroy'd.

As to the Circuit of *Jerusalem*, I cannot conclude *Hecataeus* to have over-reach'd, till I can be sure there is no fault in the Copies of *Josephus*, or that our Author did rightly understand him. For first, (d) *Josephus* does not seem to agree with himself in this matter; when in the same Chapter, giving an account of the three Walls that encompassed the City; he makes the third to have ninety Towers, (e) each of twenty cubits Diameter; and be-

(a) *Prim. Ep. p. 9.* (b) *Jos. B. J. l. 6. c. 17. s. 17.* (c) *Jos. de bell. Jud. l. 4. c. 20.* (d) *Jos. B. J. l. 5. c. 13.* (e) *ὡς ἀπὸ πύργου 12 πύργων.*

tween every one these Towers, a curtain of two hundred cubits, which being sum'd up, make near fifty furlongs in compass. Or if we take (a) *Villalpandus* his reckoning, who allows but four hundred Cubits to a Furlong, we shall have fifty Furlongs compleat. Nor was this the whole compass of the City, for this Wall was not drawn round the other two on every part, but where the City ended in inaccessible precipices (b) *there was but one Wall*, and then it must be by so much more than fifty Furlongs. So the particulars and the sum total of this Author not agreeing, there must be some mistake in the Calculation.

But several Learned Men have endeavour'd to reconcile these passages, among whom, *Villalpandus* (c) seems to have succeeded best; who having shew'd the right order and situation of the three Walls out of *Josephus*, against the mistakes of *Adricomius* and others, concludes with great probability, that the City which is said to have been thirty three Furlongs about, was the old City contain'd within the first Wall of sixty Towers; and if the distance between these was equal to that of the third Wall, the sum will be exactly according to *Josephus* his measure. Now to confirm this conjecture, it must be observ'd that the Town about which *Titus* drew his *Vallum*, was only the Old; for the lower Town, and two of the three Walls were taken by the *Romans*, and ruin'd before that Circumvallation was begun, which was according to *Josephus* thirty nine Furlongs;

(a) *Appar. Urb. Templi*. p. 1. l. 2. c. 21. (b) *Τὰς τῆς*
ἑξ ἑκατομῶν. Jof. ub. sup. (c) *Appar. l. 2. c. 4.*

and it was this which was properly call'd the (a) City, the other accessions being accounted for Suburbs, and so call'd by *Josephus*. Nor can we imagine, either that the *Romans* would leave so great a part of the City as that which was destroy'd in the possession of the *Jews*, or contrive their *Vallum*, which was to keep them in, at so great a distance from the remaining Wall or place of Attack, as it must needs be, if the Circumvallation encompass'd that part which was before ruin'd by the *Romans*, and quitted by the *Jews*. Now if *Josephus* be thus understood, he is not only reconcil'd to himself, but to that character of Greatness which *Pliny* (b) gives *Jerusalem*, of being far the most famous City, not only of *Judea*, but of all the *East*. (c) *Aristeas*, if he deserve any credit, makes it Forty Furlongs about, and there are (d) who represent it as quadrangular three Miles in length, and something less in breadth, which is indeed the most liberal of all Calculations, but has no great authority to vouch it. However by the reckoning of *Josephus*, *Jerusalem* was more than fifty Furlongs in Compass, and the Precipices being reckon'd where there was but one Wall, many Furlongs more may remain to be added even to that sum. What is suggested to lessen the number of the People of *Jerusalem*, (e) from the complaint made to the *Idumeans*, that they had destroy'd in one night almost all the People, when there was but

(a) *Vallalp. App. l. 2. c. 10. Ant. Jud. l. 15. c. ult.*

(b) *Hierosolyma longe clarissima Urbium Orientis non Judae modo. Plin. l. 5. c. 4. (c) Arist. de 70 Inter. (d) Miambourg Croiss. l. 3. (e) Fof. B. F. l. 4. c. 20. ἀποθάρσας ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἡ πόλις ὅλην δὲ τὴν πόλιν τὸν δῆμον.*

twelve Thousand slain , is not exact enough to ground any Calculation. For the *Idumeans* slew above twenty, perhaps above forty Thousand while they were in *Jerusalem*, as (a) *Josephus* reckons. For the first night the *Idumeans* were let in, they slew eight thousand five hundred Persons ; not in the City, but about the Temple. And not content with this Slaughter, they turn'd upon the City and kill'd every one they met. Nor did it end thus, but they still went on and butcher'd the People like a herd of unclean Beasts ; these without number : But afterwards taking many persons of Condition, and young Men, they bound and put them into (b) custody, hoping to gain them to their side, but they all chose rather to die than joyn with their Enemies , whereupon they were tortur'd and kill'd. Those who were taken in Custody in the day, were slain and cast out in the night to make room for others the day following, who were also destroy'd in the same manner, and the number of those young People of quality destroy'd in that manner is said (c) to be twelve thousand. Such was the slaughter made by the *Idumeans* in *Jerusalem*, that it is no wonder if those who had a mind to be rid of their company, should represent the whole People as destroy'd ; and considering the prodigious numbers slain by the Factions in that City, it is a wonder there should be any more remaining for new calamities ; and yet after this loss, the People of *Jerusalem* were so formidable, that

(a) *Jos. l. 4. c. 17. c. 18. c. 19.* (b) Νέμες ἡ ἐφυλακίς.
(c) Μάλιστα ἡ δολοφονία τῶν ἐφυλακῶν, ἕως ἅπαντος διεσπάρηκεν.

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Josephus commends the conduct of (a) *Vespasian* for not adventuring to attack it at that time, when his Officers urged him to march his Army thither, that so the Factions might have yet more leisure to weaken one another; whereas if the people were in a manner all kill'd, he had no reason to apprehend any opposition.

Now should all this Calculation be allowed, and *Jerusalem* reduc'd to the narrowest Circuit, and the lowest Reckoning; yet I cannot see what benefit can redound to the Notion of Congregational Episcopacy. For we do not read of any great accession of Profelytes to the Christian Faith on any of the three Feasts, except one, on that of Pentecost, when three thousand Souls were gain'd; but since that, there were many *added daily to the Church*: There were five Thousand converted at a time; and after this, (b) *Believers were the more added to the Church, multitudes both of Men and Women*. And after this, (c) *The Word of God increas'd, and the number of the Disciples multiply'd in Jerusalem greatly, and a great company of the Priests were obedient to the Faith*. These Accessions are no where said to consist of out-lying Jews, nor to come in upon solemn times, but *daily*; and all this to fall out within the compass of a year. And if there be any truth in the Tradition which (d) *Apollo-nius* an ancient Writer cites from *Thraseas*, who suffer'd Martyrdom in his time, that the Apostles were commanded by our Saviour not

(a) *L. 4. c. 21.* (b) *Acts 5. 14.* (c) *Acts 6. 7.*
 (d) *Enc. H. E. L. 5. c. 18.*

to depart from *Jerusalem* in twelve years, we must conclude the numbers of Profelytes must needs surpass the measure of a Congregation, if the success of following years did in any proportion answer this beginning.

All the endeavours therefore of deduction from the numbers of Converts expressed by St. *Luke*, can have no place in the Church of *Jerusalem*: For, 1. All that were converted on Pentecost, are said to continue in the Apostles (a) Fellowship, and breaking of Bread and in Prayer; i. e. to stay with them in *Jerusalem*. So that though they were not dwellers before, upon this occasion they became such. 2. The five thousand added to these, according to the circumstances of the Story, and the exposition of all the ancient Writers, will afford no occasion for any deduction. 3. The increase, of which the numbers are not express'd, may reasonably be presum'd no way inferior to the other, where the number is set down; but if we observe the Expressions, seem to surpass them. For when five thousand were converted, it is said, that *many of those who heard the Word, believed*. If the number had not follow'd, this would have pass'd for a little matter with our Author; but in other places it is said, that *great multitudes both of Men and Women, a great number of Priests, &c.* 4. While the Apostles continued in *Jerusalem*, we have reason to believe the Church was still increasing, and the People being generally of their side upon the account of the Miracles they wrought, so as

(a) Acts 2.

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to give a check to the Rulers, and to restrain them from persecuting the Apostles, it cannot be well doubted, but the Apostles improv'd this good disposition to a perfect conversion.

5. Besides the preaching of the Apostles, the influence of the Converts, who were generally men, upon their Families, could not fail of having great effect, and of making no small addition to the sum of Believers. The Authority the Masters of families had over them among the Jews, being very great, and the submission of Wives and Children to them being in that Nation very implicit; (a) *It being the receiv'd custom of the East, as De la Valle observ'd, that the Women and Children should accommodate themselves to the Father of the family in matters of Religion, though the Women had before they married, been bred up in other Rules.* 6. That the Multitude converted could have no convenience in Jerusalem of meeting in one Assembly. The Apostles went from House to House, κατ' οἶκον, i. e. in several Houses there were several religious Assemblies, and so consequently several Congregations; so that the Multitude, though it might in a very great Theater or Temple have come together; yet for want of such accommodation began in the Diocesan way, and dispersed into several Assemblies, which still made up but one Church.

(b) *It is confessed, says Mr. Clerkson, that in those times, and after, there was more than one Bishop in a City; and if the Christians in any City were but few, and those divided betwixt se-*

(a) Letter 17. from Bagdad. (b) Prim. Ep. p. 6.

veral Bishops, how small a Diocese would the share of each make up? For this he cites Dr. Hammond on the Rev. c. 11. p. 662. It is true indeed, D. H. was of opinion, that the Believers of the Circumcision did for some time keep at some distance from the Gentile Converts, and had their Assemblies and Officers apart; and that the Apostles having no other remedy, were obliged to manage the matter so tenderly as to connive for some time at this separation. But this can by no means concern the case of the Church of *Jerusalem* within the time of her increase, before the death of St. Stephen and the conversion of St. Paul; for as yet no Gentile had been baptized, *Cornelius* being the first, and that some time after these many thousands had been converted in *Jerusalem*. Besides, were this allow'd, that the Jews and Gentiles in each City had a distinct Bishop, yet that makes nothing for the Congregational way, for this happened upon another Account. And after the ruin of *Jerusalem*, and the destruction of the Jewish Commonwealth, the Jews came to an accommodation, and joyned with the Gentiles under the same Officers, before the second Century; and therefore can be of no consequence to the point in hand. And if those Dioceses were small, it was in order to greater increase, that the Jews might be for a little while indulg'd, and then united with the Gentiles in one Church. But after all, this matter of separate Churches is no more than the conjecture of some learned men; and our Author himself is willing to dismiss it, by saying,

ing, (a) *That there is no need of this acknowledgement, nor will he insist on the grounds on which he proceeds. Nor is there any reason he should, if he can make out what he affirms in the same place, that there is evidence enough in Scripture for a plurality of Bishops in several Cities, which may be easily vindicated from the attempts of some that would deface it.*

His first instance is *Phil. i. i. To all the Saints that are at Philippi, with the Bishops and Deacons.* That these were Bishops of the Province, as Dr. *Hammond* contends, and not of the City of *Philippi*, our Author will by no means allow, nor will I be very importunate with him that he should. But one thing I would learn of him, what sort of Bishops he takes these to be? For if in his opinion they are no other than Presbyters, then this place is impertinently alledg'd, since many Presbyters are by all sides acknowledg'd to have belong'd to one Church. But if he speak of Bishops in the common Ecclesiastical sense, and then concludes from this passage, that there were many in the Church of *Philippi*; his opinion is as singular, as that of the Doctor he endeavours to refute. For my part, I must profess that I am not much concern'd in this Dispute between our Author and Dr. *Hammond* about these Bishops. I could never find sufficient reason to believe them any other than Presbyters, as the generality of Fathers and of the Writers of our own Church have done. And tho' I have great reverence for the name and memory of Dr. *Hammond*; yet where he is alone, I may

(a) P. 7.

without any imputation of disrespect, take the common liberty of leaving his opinion to stand or fall according to the strength of the Arguments upon which it is founded. Yet there are some things in our Authors reply, which may be taken notice of.

Dr. Hammond (a) from a passage in the *Acts*, where *Philippi* is said to be the *first City* of *Macedonia* and a *Colony*, infers that it was a *Metropolis*. To which our Author answers, that it is *first in Situation*, (b) and not in dignity and preheminance. This conjecture of *Camerarius* and *Zanchius* may after all be more ingenious than solid. For *Bezas* M S. has κεφαλὴ and not πρῶτη, i. e. the head or chief, not the *first in Situation*; and the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Versions follow wit. Now the most ancient Copy, as it is suppos'd, of the New Testament now extant, confirm'd by two old Versions, may weigh as much as a late conjecture. Besides *Philippi* was not the *first in Situation*, as is pretended, but *Neapolis*. And it would be something strange, if *Dover* be indeed the first Town of *England*; that he who pass'd that way, should call *Canterbury* the first. It might not be very considerable, when *Macedon* was reduc'd by *Paulus Amilius*, but it might be the chief Town of that part of the Country when *St. Luke* wrote. (c) *Liberatus* mentions the Arch-Bishop of *Philippi*, and in the Council of *Ephesus* the Bishop subscribes among the Metropolitans, tho' it be express'd that he had the Proxy of the Bishop of *Theffalonica*. In an old *Notitia* he is Metropolitan of the Province of

(a) 16, 12.

(b) P. 8.

(c) Brev. c. 5,

Macedon,

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Macedon. And so *Sedulius* styles him; and *Tertullian* (a) names it before *Thessalonica*.

Nor will I contend with our Author about the other Argument of Dr. *Hammond*, which he rejects; that *Philippi* was a Metropolis, because it was a *Colonie*. It does not indeed necessarily follow; but yet *Roman Colonies* were generally placed in the principal Cities of Provinces, and endow'd with the chief Dignities and Jurisdictions in the Countries where they were. So *Carthage*, *Corinth*, *Cæsarea*, and many others might be nam'd. But if it was the *Head* of that part of the Country and a *Colony*, as *Beza's* old Copy has it, this Dispute is over; and nothing I am sure Mr. *Clerkson* has produc'd, does make out that it was not a *Metropolis* when *St. Paul* was there.

Now this Debate concerning the Bishops of *Philippi* had soon been at an end; if our Author had thought fit to explain himself, and told us what he meant by Bishops. For were they Pastors of single elect Congregations respectively in covenant? Then there must have been several Churches or Congregations in that one City. But on other occasions he will not allow more than one Congregation for three hundred years after Christ, even in *Rome* it self. But if we allow such an obscure place as *Philippi* to have many Churches so early; we cannot avoid yielding to *Alexandria* and *Antioch* and other great Cities many more; and what will prove worse than all, those Churches must be acknowledg'd to be all under one Bishop. Or

(a) de *Præscrip.*

were these Bishops only Presbyters ruling the Church of *Philippi* with common and equal Authority? Then our Author must give up the Question, and instead of making many Bishops must own that there was none at all there but only Presbyters. Will he contend that there were no other Bishops than Presbyters? This will be to abuse his Reader with the ambiguity of a word, which he takes in one sense and the Church in another. That many Presbyters might belong to one Congregation, none ever deny'd; that many Bishops in the allow'd and ecclesiastical sense of the word had the oversight of one City, sounds strange and incredible to the ancient Christians. *Chrysostom* observing this expression of the Bishops of *Philippi*, seems to be startled with it. *What, many Bishops in one City? By no means, it cannot be. What then? They were not Bishops properly so call'd, but Presbyters.*

The same poor Sophistry is carry'd on (a) under the colour of another Text. (b) *St. Paul from Miletus sent to Ephesus, and call'd the Elders of the Church, who are say'd, v. 28. to be made Bishops by the Holy Ghost.* Now these Elders or Bishops belong'd to the City Church of *Ephesus*, as our Author contends, and not to the Province, and therefore there were several Bishops in the same City. But if we demand here again, what Bishops are here meant; whether these were Bishops in the sense of the present question, or Presbyters only? The objection vanishes, and leaves the Reader to wonder, that any man should so solemnly undertake to prove

(a) *Prim. Ep. p. 10.*

(b) *Acts 20. 17.*

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what no man ever doubted, that in Scripture-times there were many Presbyters over one Church. But Dr. *Hammond* will have these Bishops to be Suffragans of *Ephesus*: And Mr. *Clerkson* with all his force does endeavour to ~~dis~~prove them to have been City Bishops. Now in the midst of this contention, we may be very safe from the danger of Congregational Episcopacy. For if Dr. *Hammond's* way prevail, these Bishops must have each a City and Territory, and be Diocesans either actually, or in right. If Mr. *Clerkson* carries it, then properly speaking there might not be a Bishop among them all; for they are but Presbyters belonging, not to several Independent Congregations, but to one Church, and might have a Bishop to whom they were subject, as the Ancients believ'd they had, and thought *Timothy* to be the Person. And here he musters up great forces against Dr. *Hammond's* opinion, and affirms, (a) that the Text it self, the Syriack Version, Chrysostom, Theophilaët, Oecumenius and Theodoret, and the whole stream of Ancients are against this new sense, not any favoring it but one among them all. But what sense are these Ancients for? that there were many Bishops of one City-Church? Nothing less, for they all declare the contrary, and that these were no other than Presbyters. But there hapned to be one for the Doctors new sense; our Author does not name him, it was *Irenaus*; and it seems something incongruous to call that sense new which is vouch'd

(a) Pr. Ep. p. 10, 11.

by so ancient Authority. For this Father is judg'd by (a) Mr. *Dodwel* to be born in the later end of the first Century, or the very beginning of the second. He convers'd with *Polycarp*, as himself declares, whose Martyrdom according to the computation of Bishop (b) *Pearson* could not be later than the year 147. And therefore must have liv'd forty years of the first Century. He was Bishop of *Smyrna*, which was under the Jurisdiction of *Ephesus*, and might understand from the Tradition of the place more of St. *Paul's* visitation than is recorded by St. *Luke*, and so be more particular in noting the quality of the Persons that the Apostle call'd to him to *Miletus*; and express'd himself therefore in that manner, (c) *having call'd together the Bishops and Presbyters of Ephesus, and the other Neighbouring Cities.* Now if Authority go by weight, and not by number; Dr. *Hammond's* case will not appear so desperate; for though many names are produced against him, yet several of them are very light. For *Oecumenius* and *Theophilact* may be discounted as Transcribers of *Chrysostom*, who with *Theodore* will scarce weigh down the credit of *Irenaeus* in a case of this nature; for they speak only by conjecture, whereas he might have nearer notices from Tradition. Howe'er it were, yet our Author should have call'd this *sense* any thing rather than *new*, since it is ancients than any thing he can produce to the contrary. As to the

(a) *Diff. 3. in Iren.* (b) *Diff. Post. 2. c. 14. et seq.*
 (c) *Iren. l. 3. c. 14.*

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Text it self, it determines positively on neither side; and for the *Syriack version*, if it be against the Dr. in *Ephesus*, it must be remembered that it was for him at *Philippi*. But after all, the present question is not concern'd in this Dispute; for tho' these Elders who are call'd Bishops, were not of the Province, but of the City of *Ephesus*; yet it does not follow, that there were several Bishops properly so call'd and distinguish'd from Presbyters at the same time in one Church. And our Author's stream of *Ancients* are against him, who understand these not to be proper Bishops, but Presbyters.

I should dismiss this point about the *Ephesine* Bishops; if our Author did not say he did insist upon another Argument, as new and altogether his own. The sum of it is this. *The Apostle Paul resolv'd to be at Jerusalem (a) at the day of Pentecost.*—But he could not be there at the day, if he stay'd long at Miletus. And he could not Assemble the Bishops of Asia there, if he stay'd not long there. Ephesus was fifty miles from Miletus, and so four days journey going and coming. And if Paul stay'd longer than three or four days at the most at Miletus, he could not be at Jerusalem at Pentecost. Now the chief Cities of Asia he shews were at a great distance from Ephesus, and at a greater from Miletus: and therefore the Elders sent for, could not be those of the several Cities of Asia, but of Ephesus; and then it cannot be deny'd, but in that Church there was a plurality of Elders or Bishops. That there was there a plurality of

(a) Acts 20. 16.

Elders or Presbyters, has been often granted. That these were Bishops in the Ecclesiastical use of the word, is still denied. Upon that the Question turns, and our Author says not a word to it. But this ruins Dr. *Hammond's* notion. For the account given by St. *Luke* of the Apostle's Journey, will not permit the Bishops of *Asia* to assemble at *Miletus*. Should it be granted that this notion is not tenable, Diocesan Episcopacy will not be much concern'd. For it has been always maintain'd, and may be so still without this support. But yet after all this pains, the Argument on which Mr. *Clerkson* does so much insist, does it no hurt at all. For what if the Apostle did not reach *Jerusalem* by Pentecost? St. *Luke* does no where affirm it, and no circumstance of his Journey or Arival does evince it: Nay the very account of his Voyage makes it incredible. *Chrysostom* reckons forty-two days from the days of Unleaven'd Bread when he was at *Philippi*, to his arival (a) at *Cæsarea*, where he stay'd many days, *i. e.* more than he tarry'd anywhere else, which at lowest reckoning must be eight. And so the *Pentecost* must find him at *Cæsarea* as that Father affirms, though (b) *Baronius* mistaketh his words, and would understand them of *Jerusalem*. And *Chrysostom* upon those words, intending, if it were possible, to be at *Jerusalem*, observes, how the Apostle is mov'd after the manner of men. (c) How he designs, how he hastens, and yet often times misses of his end.

(a) Πάρις. Ἰω. ἀλ. Chrys. *Acts* 21. Ser. 45. (b) *Annal.* 58. S. 117. (c) Chrys. in *Act.* 21. Ser. 43.

Which

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Which implies, that in his opinion that he had not attain'd what he intended so earnestly, *i. e.* to be at *Jerusalem* by Pentecost. Nay, so uncertain is this whole matter, that to some Writers (a) *Paul* seem'd to pass the Pentecost at *Troas* twelve days after he had set out. By our Author's computation he has scarce two days left for seventy five miles, which were between *Casarea* and *Jerusalem*. But our Author's reckoning has omissions. For he makes no allowance between *Tyre* and *Prolemais*, which is thirty two miles. The time in which *Paul's* company went before by Sea from *Troas* to *Affos*, and *Paul* went by Land, is not reckon'd: For *St. Luke* speaks of the whole company. (b) *We abode there seven days: And then we went before the ship, and sayl'd to Affos.—And when he met with us at Affos.* What time this took up is uncertain, as well as the distance between *Troas* and *Affos*. Besides, three or four days is something of the shortest allowance for his stay at *Miletus*, that the Elders of *Ephesus* might be sent for, and come to him. The Journey took up four days: and less than one day cannot be well allow'd them to confer. The Voyage from *Miletus* to *Tyre* is of an uncertain time; and five days seems something of the least. What is to be allow'd for the many days stay at *Casarea*, is still uncertain. And in common understanding of the phrase, it cannot signify so few as would permit the Apostle to be at *Jerusalem* at Pentecost. Bi-

(a) *Theophil.* in *Acts* 21.

(b) *Acts* 20. 6, 13, 14.

shop *Pearson* (a) therefore, a person of great Exactness, having considered this matter, concluded that *Paul* could not be at *Jerusalem* till after Pentecost. These are his words, *Venit Hierosolyma cum collectis post Pentecosten mense Junio, ubi tumultu concitato, &c.* If therefore this be all *Mr. Clerkson* has to insist on, that *St. Paul* could not stay above four days at *Miletus*, because he could not otherwise arrive at *Jerusalem* before Pentecost; his proof amounts to little. For it appears much more probable, that the Apostle arriv'd not thither till after that Feast, and therefore might have stay'd at *Miletus* as long as he had pleas'd. But since *Dr. Hammond* allow'd *St. Paul* to reach *Jerusalem* within the time design'd; I must confess that the Argument is good against him, but not against his notion of the Bishops of *Asia*, or the passage of *Irenaeus*; unless we may suppose those Bishops assembled at *Ephesus* in expectation of *St. Paul's* coming thither, and by that means in a readiness to meet him at *Miletus*. This is all the account our Author thought fit to give out of Scripture concerning the plurality of Bishops in one City. How well he has made good his Paradox, let the Reader judge.

It is Acknowledg'd, says he, (b) that both in Scripture times and long after, the Bishops Diocese was so small, that one Altar was sufficient for it. See *Mr. Mede's Proof of Churches in the Second Century*, p. 29. Nay more than this, it should seem that in those first times before Dioceses were divided

(a) *Annal. Paulini. A. 59. p. 16.* (b) *Prim. Ep. p. 14.*

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into the lesser and subordinate Churches, we now call Parishes, and Presbyters assign'd to them, they had not only one Altar in one Church or Dominion, but one Altar to a Church, taking Church for the Company or Corporation of the Faithful united under one Bishop; and that was in the City and place where the Bishop had his residence. It should seem, says Mr. Mede, — and again thus perhaps, is Ignatius to be understood, and then, however I here determine nothing. With this diffidence and caution does that Learn'd Man propose his Opinion; which, together with the testimonies upon which it is grounded, (a) has been considered at large in another place, and I am not willing here to transcribe. Yet that I may not seem to decline an Answer in this place; I will give the sum of what is there answer'd, and add something for future explication. First then, Altar in the primitive sense, signify'd not only the Communion Table, but the whole place where the Chair of the Bishop and the Seats of the Presbyters were plac'd; and in this sense there was but one Altar in one Diocese, as there is now but one Consistory. This is explain'd by passages out of Ignatius, Cyprian, and Archbishop Usher; and to be *within the Altar*, which is Ignatius his phrase, is no other than to be in Communion with the Bishop and his Clergy. And the *one Altar* is no more than one Communion, which may be held in different places, and at several Tables. Besides some passages cited out of Ignatius about *one Altar*, are only

further /

(a) Vindic. of the Prim. Ch. p. 34. and Seq.

allusive to the *Jewish* Temple and Altar, and therefore are not to be urg'd too strictly. Lastly, the name of Altar might be appropriated to that of the Bishop's Church upon another account, and that is in respect of the oblations of the Faithful, which were presented there only, and from thence distribution was made according to the occasions of the Church. Among other oblations, was the Bread and the Wine which were to serve for the Sacrament; these were always bless'd at the Bishops Altar, though not always consecrated there. Concerning these oblations preparatory to the Sacrament Mr. Mede has given a judicious account in his Treatise of the Christian Sacrifice, where he shews these Offerings were in the nature of a Sacrifice; and upon the account of these gifts, the Table might receive its name of Altar. For as the *Jews* had but one Altar, on which their Sacrifices were offer'd and sanctify'd, yet were they eaten at several Tables; so the Bishops Altar might serve to the same purpose, at least within the same City, to receive those Oblations which were to be communicated in different places. This was the practice of *Rome* in Pope *Innocent* (a) the first his time, who sent the Bread already consecrated to all the Churches of the City; but did not send any to such Presbyters as were plac'd in remote Cemeteries, since they might consecrate themselves; and as for Country Parishes he did not think it convenient the Holy Consecrated Bread should be sent to

(a) *Innoc. Ep. ad Decem.*

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them, for it was not fit it should be carry'd to places remote. So all, though not present in the same place, did yet partake of one Altar, and eat of the same Spiritual Bread. And to this purpose perhaps, may most commodiously be understood that noted passage of *Justin Martyr* concerning the administration of the Eucharist in Christian Assemblies, where he says, that the Deacons distribute it to all that are present, and carry it to those who are not present. For to all who were not present, as they were dispers'd in their several dwellings, it could not conveniently be carry'd by the Deacons; besides that in numerous Congregations it was not easy to know who was not present. Nor is *Valesius* (a) his conjecture very probable, who would send it to persons of other Dioceses: So that it seems most probable, that it was carry'd from the Bishop's Church to other Assemblies in the same City. Nor will this look strange for those times, that the Holy Bread should be sent from the Bishops Altar to other Churches of the same City, when it was usual to send it into remote Countries and Dioceses as a symbol of Communion. The old Bishops of Rome, before (b) *Victor's* time, us'd to send such presents: and (c) *Lucian* the Martyr sent them from his Prison. So *Paulinus* (d) did to *Severus*. This practice was forbid by the Synod (e) of *Ladicea*, that the holy Mysteries should not be sent

(a) Annot. in Euseb. l. 5. c. 24. (b) Τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν παροικίων ἐπεμπεύον εὐχαρίστας. Euseb. H. E. l. 5. c. 24. (c) Act. Lucian. ap. Metaph. 7. Jan. (d) Paul. Ep. 1. (e) Can. 14. Ἐν ἐξῆρας παροικίας.

abroad into other Dioceses, which Zonaras observes to have been a very ancient custom. And this forbidding it to be carry'd into other Dioceses, seems to allow its being carry'd from the Bishop's Church to other places of the same Diocese.

After Mr. Mede, (a) Dr. Hammond is brought in a witness of this notion of one Altar. (b) He mentions it indeed as the opinion of some learned Men, but he himself makes no judgment concerning it, leaving the matter as uncertain, and declining to pronounce any thing in a point so obscure.

Bishop Taylor (c) is likewise forc'd to appear in this cause, meerly because he cited Damascus in the life of Pope Marcellus, who is said to have made twenty five Titles as so many Dioceses for Baptism and Penance. From whence the Bishop is said (d) to infer, that there was yet no preaching in Parishes, and but one pulpit in a Diocese. And further, Damascus, and the Doctor out of him leaves us evidently to conclude, that there was no Communion Table but in the mother Church. And this three hundred and five years after Christ, and at Rome too. It is not very advisable to conclude any thing too hastily upon the authority of this pretended Damascus; it costs such counterfeits nothing to build twenty Churches in a day, and to consign them to what use they please. But this Impostor, as he had little wit, so in this instance his luck

(a) Prim. Ep. p. 16. (b) In re incomperta non est audacter nimis pronuncian dum. Ham. Diff. 3. c. 8. s. 15.
(c) Episc. Assert. (d) Prim. ep. p. 16.

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was very bad, to make so many Converts, and to erect so many Titles in the year three hundred and five, when the *Roman* Emperors were persecuting the Christians to utter extirpation, and when there was not a Church or Title standing in *Rome*. This was the third year of the Persecution, according to (a) *Lactantius*; or the second, according to *Eusebius*, and therefore a sorry time for Converts, and making of Titles and Baptistries. So that the relation being fabulous, and forg'd by one who had no knowledge of those times, the inferences made from it must drop.

It was surely, not very well contriv'd to multiply Churches for Baptism, and to leave but one Communion Table for all the Christians of *Rome*. For one Baptistry may serve the greatest City, because men are baptiz'd but once, and that not all together, but at several times; and in ancient times no City had more, unless where the magnificence of Emperors or Bishops made, as it were, many Cathedrals. And at this time in the City of *Florence*, (b) reckon'd among the chief of *Italy*, all the children are christen'd in one Font, in the old Church of *St. John*. Which *Leandro Alberti* (c) says was a Temple of *Mars*; which *Dufresne* observes, *Tanquam veteris moris Institutum*. It being the old way for all, who liv'd in or near the same City, to be baptiz'd in one Church, *i. e.* the Cathedral. But the use of the

(a) Baluz. Chron. Mart. ex Lact. Dodw. Di. 8. Cypr. XI. (b) Plin. Merc. Ital. Lascelina. (c) Gloss. v. Baptisterium.

Altar was more general and more constant ; for every Lord's day, in the primitive times, all the Faithful receiv'd the Sacrament. And the administration of it does require more time and more room than any other office of Christian Religion. For more may pray together, or hear the Scriptures or a Sermon with convenience, than can receive the Sacrament, which was delivered (a) with a form of words to every person that receiv'd it, to which the receiver answered, *Amen*. So that in a numerous Congregation it must grow inconvenient, and soon stand in need of several other Churches. Wherefore it seems most probable that the Christian Assemblies were first parted on this account, and *Titles* or parish-Churches erected as supplements of the chief Altar. Let a man but consider the state of the Church of *Rome* under (b) *Cornelius*, when above fifteen hundred persons were maintain'd from the publick stock of the Church, what numbers of believers there must be in that City ; and then let him conceive if he can, how so many thousands could meet every Lord's day in one Church, and receive the Communion at one Altar. And in *Lions*, (c) where in *Severus* his time there are said to have been eighteen thousand Christians, it is not easy to conceive how one Altar could be sufficient. We are told indeed, that we have many thousands in a Parish that hath but one Altar ; but if our Com-

(a) Euf. H. E. l. 6. c. 43. (b) Euf. H. E. l. 6. c. 43.
 (d) Irenæus martyrizatus est cum omni populo Christianorum, XVIII. M. Thron, S. Benig. ap. Dacher. T. 1.

munion,

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munions were as frequent and as numerous as those of the Primitive Church, many Altars I am sure would be necessary to such Parishes.

To conclude, the words of the counterfeit *Damasus* now under debate, do not deny to those Parish-Churches the administration of the Eucharist; for when he appoints them for Baptism and Penance; he doth not exclude all other Christian Offices, such as Prayer, reading of the Scripture, or the Communion; but names those of Baptism and Penance, because even in his time they were not allow'd to every Parish-Church. But this *Damasus* liv'd later than to think of a Church without Mass, or without an Altar; and he had taken care not only for such Churches, but for the Sepulchres of Martyrs, that they should have Altars raised over them, and Masses celebrated, long before the time of *Marcellus*, and ascribes the ordering of that matter to (a) *Felix* 1. And (b) *Baronius* seems to be troubled that this Author had not done it sooner, and therefore thinks fit to let the Reader know, that all this had been provided before. And lastly, the expression, *quasi Dioceses*, referring to Baptism and Penance, import, that those services indeed belong'd only to a Cathedral; and therefore the granting of those priviledges to Parishes made them seem like Dioceses, whereas * every *Martyrium*, every Cemetary, and common *Tule* had the priviledge of the Communion.

(a) *Pseud. Damas in Felix*, 1. (b) *Baron. An.* 275.

* *Innoc. Ep. ad Daçen. Aug. Conf. c. 2. vid. Euseb. H. E. l. 7. c. 11. l. 9. c. 2.*

That

That there was no preaching in the Parishes of Rome, may very well be granted, without reducing the Christians to a single Congregation. For if (a) Sozomen was not misinform'd, there was no preaching in any Church in Rome, not in the Bishops; for in Rome, neither the Bishop, nor any other taught in the Church. And Valesius takes notice, that we have no Homilies of any Roman Bishop before Leo 1. and to confirm this of the Historian, he observes, that Cassiodore, who was well acquainted with the customs of the City, had translated this passage; which he would scarce have done and publish'd it in Rome it self, if he had not known it to be true.

(b) To carry on this notion of but one assembly of Christians in the greatest Cities, (c) *Petavius* is cited with an ample character, that he had no superior for learning among the Jesuits, nor any to whom Prelacy is more oblig'd. But our Author is as much oblig'd to him as the Prelats; if while other Witnesses speak doubtfully and with reserve, He is positive, that in the fourth Age there was but one Church or Title ordinarily in a City, and proves it by Epiphanius, who speaks of more Titles in Alexandria, as a thing singular and peculiar to that City, there being no instance thereof but in Rome. I am willing to believe our Author did not read that place himself, but took it upon trust. For *Petavius* affirms there, the direct contrary to that for

(a) Soz. l. 7. c. 19. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπισκοπὴς ἔτε ἄλλος πρὸς ἐκκλησίαν
ἐπὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ διδασκαλεῖ. (b) Prim. Ep: p. 16, 17.
(c) Petav. Animad. in Epiph. p. 276.

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which our Author makes him so positive. For these are his Words; *You may guess* (says he) *that this was a singular manner of Alexandria, or at leastwise in use in very few Churches; that Epiphanius makes so particular mention of this way of Alexandria, as if it had been peculiar to that Church,—but the same thing had been long before ordered elsewhere, particularly in Rome. I do not doubt but there were many Titles or Churches within the pomaria of the greater Cities, since the people could not all meet within the Walls of one Church, and therefore had Presbyters appointed for those Churches into which the Christians were distributed. In smaller and lesse populous Towns there was but one Church, in which all were assembled together, such as the Cities of Cyprus were, upon which account Epiphanius observes the manner of Alexandria as an unusual thing, and strange to his People. This is what Petavius delivers there. You may guess,* says he, *as our Author fancies, that this was peculiar to Alexandria,—but the same thing was ordered elsewhere, and he did not doubt but it was so in all the greater Cities. But that Petavius should prove this also by the Council of Neocæsarea, can. 13. is an oversight yet stranger. For though Petavius cites that Canon, yet it is not to prove this or any thing like it; but having entred into a discourse about Chorepiscopi, he shews from that Canon, that they were Bishops and not Presbyters; because they had the priviledge of officiating in the City-Church, in the presence of the Bishop or his Presbyters, whereas that priviledge is expressly deny'd the Country-Presbyters. But how our Author came to fancy this passage to be*
for

for his purpose, I will not undertake to divine.

I have hitherto only shew'd what *Petavius* had observ'd concerning the *Alexandrian* Parishes; but whether his Observation be just, is another question. For my part I cannot find any reason to believe, that all the *Cyprian* Cities were so small; or if they were, that *Epiphanius* would upon that account have made such a frigid Observation, as to take notice of that as a singularity in *Alexandria*, which was common to every great City. That which was peculiar to *Alexandria* was this, that the Parishes were assign'd to fix'd Presbyters, which has been elsewhere observ'd. (a) The *Titles* of *Rome* were serv'd by the Presbyters in common; as (b) *Valesius* observes out of *Innocent* 1. Epistle to *Decentius*. And what he adds of his own as more proper to shew, that in (c) *Julius* 1. his time, there were Parishes appropriated to certain Presbyters, has but a slight foundation. For the expression of *Athanasius*, though it may bear the sense of *Valesius*, seems to be more naturally and simply render'd by *Nannius*, that *Vito* the Roman Presbyter assembled fifty Bishops, and not that fifty Bishops assembled in *Vito's Church*, or the place where he assembled the people. This *Periphrasis* seems too frigid and affected, when every Church had its proper name by which it was call'd. It may perhaps seem strange, that a Presbyter should assemble

(a) Vind. of *Prim.* ch. p. 65, 66. (b) *Val.* Annot. in *Sozom.* l. 1. c. 15. (c) *συναθροῖσις ἐπισκοπῶν πλείων ὅντων ἐνθα βίβων αὐτῶν γε.* *Athanas.* Ap. 2. T. 1. p. 739.

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and preside over Bishops. It were strange indeed, if he should do it in his own right; but when he acts as the Deputy of the Bishop of *Rome*, this will be no wonder; for the Legats of Bishops always sate in the place that belong'd to those they represented, tho' themselves were but Presbyters, or sometimes Deacons. And that *Vuo* should be appointed to preside in this Synod, is answerable to the character and employments he had born before. For he seems to be the person (a) sent by *Sylvester* to the council of *Nice* with *Vincentius*; for though the Latin writers often call him *Victor*, yet the Greeks constantly write *Vuo*, and the Latins sometimes *Vuus*; the fittest person surely to moderate in a Synod where the Council of *Nice* was concern'd, in which he had so eminent a part.

There is one thing more observable in the distribution of Parishes and Presbyters in *Rome*, which I cannot omit, because I do not know that hath been taken notice of by any. It is that every Church in *Rome* had two Presbyters to attend it; and not one only as the Churches of *Alexandria*. This information we have from *Hilary* the Roman Deacon in his Comment on (b) 1 *Tim. c. 3*.

(a) *Sozom. l. 1. c. 17.* Βίſω; Phot. Ep. 1. de 7. Syn. *Niceph. Cal. l. 8. c. 14.* Βίτων. (b) *Ambr. in 1 Tim. c. 3.* Nunc autem septem Diaconos esse oportet & aliquantos Presbyteros, ut bini per Ecclesias, & unus in Civitate Episcopus. — Omni enim Hebdomada offerendum est, etsi non quotidie peregrinis incolis, tamen vel bis in Hebdomada, etsi non desint qui prope quotidie baptizentur ægri.

which

which is published among the works of St. *Ambrose*, but observ'd long since by learned men to be the work of this *Luciferian* Deacon. This Author speaking of the order of the *Roman* Church, and comparing it with part of the *Jewish* Temple, notes, that they had twenty four courses of Priests, but *now we must have but seven Deacons*; and *Rome* had no more, as *Sozomen* (a) observes; whereas other Churches confin'd themselves to no definite number. And besides these Deacons, *there must be such a number of Presbyters, that there may be two for every Church. For the inhabitants Communicate twice a week, (b) and their Sick are to be Baptiz'd almost every day*, who according to the practice of those times were to receive the Communion, upon which account they are mention'd in this place.

But to put this matter beyond all doubt, it is evident from several Writers, cotemporary with *Epiphanius*, that it could not be noted as a singularity in *Alexandria* to have many Parish Churches in it; since the same thing is occasionally reported of most great Cities in that time in *Rome*. (c) *Optatus* informs us that there were above forty Churches when *Victor Garbienfis* came thither, which was long before his time. And it will be as much to our purpose, if *Optatus* be understood of the state of *Rome* in his own time: since he wrote under *Valens*, (d) as St. *Jerom* informs us, who dy'd in the year three

(a) *Sozom.* l. 7. c. 19. (b) *Vid. Hieron. Apol. adv. Jovin. et August. Ep. 118. ad Januar.* (c) *Opt. Milev. l. 2. con. Parnen.* (d) *Hieron. in Catal. in Opt.*

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hundred seventy eight. But *Optatus* wrote about the year three hundred seventy, as may be gather'd from his own words, (a) where he reckons but sixty and odd years from the beginning of *Dioclesian's* Persecution, to the time of his Writing. But *Epiphanius* (b) began his work against Heresies in the year three hundred seventy four. When he wrote of the *Manichees*, (c) it was the year seventy six. The *Arian* Heresy comes afterwards at some distance, where he speaks of this custom of *Alexandria*. So that making the largest allowance that can be requir'd for *Optatus* his words, he must be granted to have wrote before *Epiphanius*.

In *Milan* there were many Churches at the same time; for St. *Ambrose* (d) names several; for example, *Portiana*, *Nova*, *Vetus*, *Ambratiana*, *Romana*, *Fansta*.

In *Constantinople* we have an account of many Churches before *Epiphanius* his time; (e) for *Constantine* built there many *Oratories* and vast Churches, as well within the City as the Suburbs. (f) *Socrates* names two, that of *Irene*, and the *Apostles*; the former was afterwards joyn'd to *Sophia* (g) by *Constantinus*, tho' it was from a small Church rais'd by *Constantine* to be very magnificent and large; yet his Son building a great Church hard by it, concluded both in one enclo-

(a) Opt. l. i. v. 3 (b) Epiph. in prolog. Panor.
 (c) Epiph Hær. 66. n. 20. Anim. Penav. 1. (d) Ambr.
 Ep. 33. id. Ep. 85. (e) Euseb. l. 3. de vit. Const. c. 48.
 (f) Socr. l. i. c. 16. (g) Id. l. 2. c. 16.

sure, and under one name. (a) Theophanes, and Nicephorus Calistus reckon others, as three to the Honour of Christ under several denominations of *Wisdom, Peace, and Power*. One bore the name of the *Apostles*. And besides these, he built *Martyria* for *Mocius, Aca-cius, Agathonicus* and *Menas*. In (b) *Constantius* his time there is mention of the Church of *St. Paul* in *Constantinople*. (c) In short, the *Historians* who speak of that City from *Constantin* the Great downward, speak of the Churches of the City, as familiarly as we should of those of *London*, without taking any notice of it as an unusual thing. So the Bishop of *C. P.* is sometimes styl'd from the Church, sometimes from the Churches of that (d) City. So *Socrates* speaks of *Alexander* who was Bishop there in *Constantin's* time; so *Macedonius* is said to possess himself of the Churches of that City. Instances of this kind there are without number; but I will conclude with (e) *Gregory Nazianzen's* Apostrophe to the Churches of *Constantinople* when he took his leave of them; Farewel Resurrection, thou auspicious name, for thou hast rais'd up my speech when it was yet condemn'd; thou happy field of common victory, in which I first pitch'd my Tent.—And thou, that great and celebrated Temple, now become a new accession to the faith, and made greater by the

(a) Theoph. in Chron. Niceph. Hist. l. 7. c. 49. ἀγίας σωμειος σοφίας καὶ εἰρήνης. (b) An. 342. (c) Socr. l. 2. c. 12. (d) ὁ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν προεως, l. 2. c. 6. τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐγκρατὴς γίνεσθαι. Socr. l. 2. c. 27. Socr. l. 4. 1. (e) Greg. Naz. orat. coram 150. Ep. in fine.

doctrin preach'd in thee, than by the vastness of thy pile; which from a profane Jebus I have consecrated into a Jerusalem. And all ye other Churches, which after this adorn every part of this City by your several beauties, and tie them together, like so many bands, each taking to its own proper resort that which is next to it. You, whom not I, but the grace of God working by my weakness has fill'd beyond what could be hop'd. Farewel you Apostles fair habitation, masters of my labours, although I have not often preach'd within your Walls. This passage is too bright to need a comment; and those who cannot discern the Parish-Churches of C. P. by these Expressions, will scarce know a Church when they see it.

Carthage is known to have had a great number of Churches about the time of (a) Epiphanius; for we have several of their names in the titles of (b) St. Augustin's Sermons. And to those observ'd already by a learned hand, we may add the Church call'd *Florentia*, which *Nicolaus Faber* places in Carthage, though the *Benedictins* seem to make some doubt of it. There was *Basilica Gratiani*, and *Theodosiana*, and *Honoriana*, and *Tricillarum*, and many more doubtless of which there is no mention.

The Christians of *Antioch* were much to blame, if they had not many Parish-Churches before *Epiphanius* his time; for surely their

(a) Unreason. of Separ. p. 249. (b) Aug. Ser. 359. Ed. Ben. Præf. ad Hilar. fragm. p. 49. Aug. Ser. 156. Ser. 26. vid. not. Bened. in Ser. 156. Ser. 53.

numbers did require them. For *Julian* the Apostate, who was not forward to magnifie the strength of the Christians, reproaches them for being in a manner all of them so. (a) *Many of you, I had almost said all, the Senate, the rich, the people for the greater part, or rather all together, have chosen Atheism, that is, Christianity.* And that they had many Churches in *Constantinus* his time, appears by the discourse that happen'd between that Emperor and *Athanasius* in *Antioch*. The Emperor desired of that Bishop, that now upon his restoration he would allow one of those many Churches he had in *Alexandria*, to such as were of the *Arian* perswasion: (b) The Bishop reply'd, That he was very ready to comply with his request, provided the Orthodox might have the same favour in *Antioch*, to have one Church of the many which are said to be there in the same place. And (c) *Euzoius* the *Arian* is said to be master of the Churches of *Antioch*, while *Paulinus* had but one of the least within the Town. And at the same time when (d) *Meletius* was driven out, it is said that all the Clergy were likewise turn'd out of the sacred Temples, and out of every Church. And to come to Cities of a lower rank; (e) *Cyzicus* had many Churches in *Epiphanius's* days, and so had (f) *Edeffa*, so had (g) *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*, and many more, especially such

(a) *Julian* in *Misagogen*. (b) *Soz.* l. 3. c. 20.
 (c) *Soz.* l. 3. c. 9. πῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν ῥά τῃσι. (d) *Theodor.*
Hist. Relig. in Aprobate. (e) *Soz.* l. 6. c. 8. (f) *Soz.*
 l. 6. c. 18. (g) *Soz.* l. 5. c. 4.

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great Cities as are taken notice of for being altogether Christians, of which I shall have occasion to speak in another place, when I come to consider the evidence of our Author for the paucity of Believers, even in the greatest Cities of the Empire. In the mean while, I hope I have sufficiently cleared this point, that it could be no singularity in *Alexandria*, in the time of *Epiphanius* to have many Parish-Churches.

(a) The last Testimony our Author produces on this head, is from (b) Dr. *Stillingfleet*, now Bishop of *Worcester*'s Sermon against Separation. *Although when the Churches increased, occasional meetings were frequent in several places; yet still there was but one Church, and one Altar, and one Baptistry, and one Bishop with many Presbyters assisting him.* All this may very well be, and Diocesan Episcopacy remain primitive; for one Bishop's Church may have several dependent Congregations; one Altar may consist with many subordinate Communion Tables; one Baptistry may serve the greatest City; and one Bishop may supervise several Parishes; and the occasional meetings spoken of, might not be destitute of the privilege of the Sacrament. But I must remember my measure, and not take upon me to explain the notion of so learned a person, who might have many things in his view which I may not have observed. Yet I cannot but take notice, that the Champions of the Congregational way must

(a) *Prim. Ep.* p. 17.

(b) p. 27.

needs be distressed, when they betake themselves to that Sermon, to make out the antiquity of their notion, where it is exploded (a) *as a novel and late fancy, that hath not age enough to plead prescription.* And the same learned (b) Prelate has made it sufficiently appear, that even in *Africk*, which was fancy'd to come nearest to the Congregational standard, several Bishops had in ancient times, and immemorially, very large Dioceses.

In conclusion, our Author comes to sum up his evidence, and to assure his performance, (c) *That this is not barely delivered by persons of excellent learning and intimate acquaintance with antiquity, but prov'd by those records which are most venerable in their account; and the evidence reaches not only the Apostles times, but divers ages after.* What has been deliver'd or prov'd by the witnesses produced by him in this Chapter, has been fairly laid down and considered; and I desire that all may be judg'd by the merit and pertinence of the evidence, and not by the confidence of the Advocate.

(a) p. 28. (b) *Unreas. of Separ. from* p. 228, to p. 262. (c) *Prim. Ep.* p. 17.

CHAP. II.

SECT. II.

IT has pleas'd Mr. *Clerkson* to fancy, that those who maintain Diocesan Episcopacy would be very much distress'd, if he could prove that of old several Bishops had their seats in Villages, and therefore observes, (a) That those who are concern'd to extend the ancient Bishops to the modern pitch, will not endure to hear, nor would they have any believe that it was usual of old to have Bishops in Villages. And that these therefore (b) tell their opponents, That the most learned of them have not been able, with great labour and hard study, to produce above five instances thereof.——And yet more have been, and may be produc'd for Bishops in Villages, than some are willing to take notice of. Altho' I profess my self concern'd for Diocesan Episcopacy, because I believe it to be Apostolical and Primitive; yet I do not find in my self any aversion to these instances of Village-Bishops; nor can I find that they ever had any quarrel with, or were irreconcilable to Diocesans. Before the Conquest this Country (c) had several Bishops seated in

(a) *Prim. Ep.* p. 19. (b) *D. D. l. 2. c. 7. Tayl. c.*
Assert. p. 304. (c) *Malmf. l. 3. vil. 1.*

Villages, who were afterwards translated to Cities, but they were no less Diocesans before, than after their translations. And at this time in *Wales* there are four Bishops who are content with Villages for their Sees, and yet have large Dioceses to govern. Of old the *Chorepiscopi*, who seem to have been rather Presbyters than Bishops, had their residence in Villages; but each of them had many Villages under his visitation. What hurt then can these instances of Bishops in Villages do to the Diocesan way? Or why are they represented so formidable to Episcopal Writers, that *they will not endure to hear of them*? Had every Village that might furnish a Congregation, a Bishop residing it? Or those Bishops who were Seated in Villages, were they only Parish-Pastors, and confin'd within the bounds of their respective Villages? If our Author had prov'd this, there had been some ground to set Village-Bishops against Diocesan; but since he has not thought fit to do this, I may take leave to say that he has left his Argument imperfect, and far short of the purpose for which it is produced.

To make this general Answer yet more plain, let us suppose the bounds of our *English* Dioceses to become as much unknown to after-ages, as those of the old *Egyptian* or *Syrian* Dioceses are now to us; and that the Books of Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Clerkson*, and others, against Diocesan Bishops in this Country should be lost, for the Genius does not promise immortality. Under this suppos'd ignorance of the present distribution of our Bishopricks, if a dabbler in antiquity finding that St. *David*, *Llandaf*, and St. *Asaph*

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Asaph had been Bishops seats some ages before; and that in elder times, *Dorchester*, and *Selfea*, and *Kirton*, and *Elmham*, and *Hexham*, and some other Villages in *England* had been honoured with Episcopal Chairs, should upon this discovery entertain a conceit, that our Episcopacy was parochial, and that a Bishop in our time and many ages before us was no more than a Parish-Minister, and write a Book to maintain this vain fancy: Such an undertaking, and such a work would be the exact copy of this Chapter of Village-Bishops.

It may perhaps seem a needless labour to examine the instances he has collected of Villages that were Episcopal seats, since they reach not the point in question, nor make the least colour of proof that the Bishops residing in Villages were but Pastors of a single Congregation. But since he pleased himself so much with this performance, that he seems to triumph, and say, That the instances of *Bishops in Villages were more than some are willing to take notice of*, he has laid a sort of a necessity upon his Answerer not to pass them by, lest his Disciples might mistake a just neglect of impertinence, for a despair or diffidence of being able to reply. I will therefore *take notice of every instance* he has produc'd upon this head, tho' I may have just reason to apprehend the censure or contempt of my Readers for insisting so minutely upon the examination of things, which to the first view sufficiently appear to be beside the purpose. But I hope the defiance and importunity of my Adversary may excuse this digression tho' a matter of curiosity rather than of argument or of weight.

To

To begin then, *In the Diocese of Egypt*, we are told, (d) *Hydrax* and *Palabifca* two Villages had their Bishops. He should have said Bishop, for they had but one, as appears from the Epistle of *Synesius*, (e) who had orders from the Bishop of *Alexandria* to ordein a Pastor for those Villages. But from the account which was put into his hands by the people of that place, we find that these † Villages were far from being Primitive Bishopricks; for at the time of which we are speaking, which was about the year of Christ, 400, thy had but one Bishop; For by Apostolick authority, as well as by the Law of the Country, those Churches had ever belong'd to *Erythros*, and were Parishes of that Diocese. The people further declare, That they were not divided from the Diocese of *Erythros* until the time of *Valens* the Emperor, when all things were in confusion, and that then one *Syderius* who came from *Valens* his Army, was made Bishop there in a very unusual manner, without the knowledg or approbation of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, by the hands of one Bishop only, i. e. *Philo* of *Cyrene*; and all this done to engage the protection of *Syderius*, who by the Commission he had from Court had it in his power to do much good or hurt to that Country. (f) Before this they had no Bishop, nor did any succeed him. Wherefore they beseech *Synesius* in the most earnest and importunate

(d) *Prim. Ep. p. 19.* (e) *Synes. Ep. 67.* † *πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις.* *Synes. ep. 67.* (f) *ἐκ τῆς διὰ τοῦτον, ὅς ἐστι αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.* *Synes. Ep. 67.*

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manner in the world that he would not force them to chuse another, but that they might be allow'd to continue in their former condition, as Parishes and dependences (g) of *Erythros*, for they had put themselves already under *Paul* the Bishop of that City, and prayed they might not be made Orphans in their Father's life time, nor be violently torn from their mother-Church. Especially since they had returned to their first estate by the approbation of *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*. Judge then by this instance, which was the Primitive Episcopacy of this place. By *Apostolick Authority and Prescription* they were members of a Diocese, and depended on a City; but to have a Bishop of their own, did in their opinion, agree neither with the Apostles rule, nor the usage of their Country. It is pity some Independent had not liv'd in those days, to have informed this people better concerning their Christian Priviledges, and to let them know that every Parish, not only might, but ought to have a Bishop of their own.

Olbiūm (h) a Village in the same region had a Bishop. After the death of *Athamas* Bishop there, the election of a Bishop was needful, and *Antonius* was chosen. There is no mention either of this place or people any where else that I can find;

(g) Παλαιίσκα δὲ καὶ ὕδραξ εἰς τὴν αἰχάαν τὰ ξιν ἐτάχθησαν καὶ εἰς ἔρυθρον ἐλήρθησαν δόγματι φασὶ τῆς σεβασμίας σε κεφαλῆς. *Synes. ibid.* (h) *Prim. Ep. p. 19.*
 Ὁλβιάται, δῆμος ἐστὶ καμάνης, ἐδὲν σὺν αἰρέσεως ἐπισκοπῶν. *Synes. Ep. 76.*

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ἐπὶ τῶν ἐν τῷ διαδοχῶν. Synes. Ep. 67.

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manner in the world that he would not force them to chuse another, but that they might be allow'd to continue in their former condition, as Parishes and dependences (g) of *Erythros*, for they had put themselves already under *Paul* the Bishop of that City, and prayed they might not be made Orphans in their Father's life time, nor be violently torn from their mother-Church. Especially since they had returned to their first estate by the approbation of *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*. Judge then by this instance, which was the Primitive Episcopacy of this place. By *Apostolick Authority and Prescription* they were members of a Diocese, and depended on a City; but to have a Bishop of their own, did in their opinion, agree neither with the Apostles rule, nor the usage of their Country. It is pity some Independent had not liv'd in those days, to have informed this people better concerning their Christian Priviledges, and to let them know that every Parish, not only might, but ought to have a Bishop of their own.

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 μίας σε κεφαλῆς. *Synes. ibid.* (h) *Prim. Ep. p. 19.*
 Ὁλβιάταις, δὲ μὲν εἰσι καμῆταις, ἐδὲ πρὸς αἰρέσεως ἐπισκο-
 πος. *Synes. Ep. 76.*

and from this (i) expression of *Synefius*, it does not appear, whether they were the People of one Village, or rather a people dwelling in Villages, such as in the old Testament are call'd *Perizites*. Of this sort (l) there were several in the region of *Pentapolis*, and all over *Africk*, where there were but few Cities, as *Pomponius Mela* observes; but where the country People inhabited, they were generally in great numbers. And (m) *Pliny* names several little Nations of this Country from the titles of *Cornelius Balbus* his triumph. Besides *Synefius* his (n) phrase may signify not a *Village-people*, but a *Neighbouring-people*. Such a people as I mention'd before, render'd in the (o) triumphal titles of *Balbus* by *Nation*. And it is not unlikely that *Synefius*, who affects *antique* phrase, might mean no more than a neighbouring People, without regarding whether they were Villages or Cities. However it was, I shall not forget to allow for this as a Village Bishop, together with some others, when I come to take my leave of *Egypt*.

(p) *Zygyus* is an *Egyptian Village* in *Ptolomy*. And *Athanasius* (q) gives us the name of the place and of the person that was Bishop there. But this Village, as it had a Bishop, so it (r) had a

(i) Δῆμος κομήτης. (l) Proximis nullæ quidem urbes stant, tamen domicilia sunt, quæ Mapalia apellantur. *Mela*. l. 1. in *Cyren*.—Nusquam pauci degunt. *ibid*. (m) *Plin*. l. 5. c. 5. (n) Κομῆτις γέντων. *Hesych*. *Jul. Pollux*. *Suid*. (o) Tabidium Oppidum. *Nitenii* Natio. *Nigligimela* Oppid. *Bubeium* Natio. &c. (p) *Prim ep*. p. 20. (q) *Athan*. ep. ad *Antioch*. (r) τῷ δὲ τῆς λιβύης νόμῳ, τῷ ἐπὶ θαλάσσης κατέχευσι ζυγγίται, &c. *Ptol*. l. 4.

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territory along the Sea side; and the whole Sea-coast of *Lybia* was divided between that and two other Villages.

(s) *We meet with Antia, a Village in Diodorus Siculus, and in the Council of Ephesus with Episcopus Anteensis; I cannot find any other place that will suit him. It is well enough guess'd, for it is in the same place, something (r) differently writ in the subscriptions of the Council of Ephesus, from what it is in Diodorus; it is the Town of Anteus, or Antaeopolis, accounted for a City by (u) Stephanus, and by (x) Plutarch. Nor was this all, but this City was likewise the Metropolis of that Nomus or Præfecture of Egypt, which bears its name (y) when Ptolemy wrote his Geography. So this Village in the account of our Author, was a City and a Metropolis of a Country, long before the Council of Ephesus, and before it had a Bishop.*

(z) *Schædia in (a) Strabo is παλαιὰ πόλις, render'd pagus urbi similis, (b) Athanasius tells us who was Bishop of it. It is some comfort, that in Strabo's time this Village was not inferior to a City; and before Athanasius his time, or any mention of a Bishop in this place, it might be a City for ought our Author knew. However,*

(s) Prim. ep. p. 20. (r) *Ἀντίας καὶ μὴ Ἀντίε ἐπίσκοπος.* Subscr. Ephes. (u) *Ἀνταίε πόλις ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ.* Steph. ib. (x) Plut. de Solert. Animal. (y) *Ἀνταίε πόλις τοῦ νόμου, καὶ Μητρόπολις Ἀνταίε.* Pol. l. 4. πίνυς προσεῦθερος μόνος. *Ἀνταίε πολ. νόμος.* Athanas. Apol. 2. p. 784. l. 1. (z) Prim. ep. p. 20. (a) Strab. l. 17. (a) Athanas. ep. ad Antioch.

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the walls, or the charter, or title of a City signifie little to the present question. If a Town be populous and have a Territory sufficient to make a competent Dioceſe, the Biſhop of the place will be a Dioceſan, and ſuch was the Biſhop of *Schadia*. For beſides that Town, he had a (c) Region belonging to his Dioceſe call'd (d) *Menelaïtes*, and he is ſtyl'd by both Titles. Now *Menelaïtes* was a *Nomus*, or as we ſhould ſay, a County of *Egypt*, of which *Canopus* (e) was the Metropolis, part of which it ſeems belong'd to the Biſhop of *Schadia*, and this Region had a City of the ſame name in the time of (f) *Juſtinian*, and poſſibly it might be a City at this time when *Agathodemon* was Biſhop. So that inſtead of a Biſhop of a Village, our Author ſeems to have ſtuml'd upon one who had two Cities. And among the ſubſcriptions in *Athanaſius* (g) there are other Biſhops who bear double titles, as *Agathus* Biſhop of *Phragonis*, and part of *Elearchia*; and *Ammonius* Biſhop of *Pachnemomi*, and the remaining part of *Elearchia*.

(h) In the *Breviary* of *Meletius*, wherein he gives *Alexander* an account what Biſhops he had made, among the reſt, (i) there is *Cronius* in

(c) *Agathodemon*, ἐπίσκοπος γεδίας καὶ μενελαιτίτις, *Athanas. Ep. ad Antioch.* p. 580. (d) *Menelaïtes*, χρῶμα *Steph.*
 (e) *Μενελαΐτις μετρόπολις καὶ κόπος*, *Ptol.* l. 4. *Plin.* l. 5. c. 9.
 (f) *Menelaitem Urbem Lybiæ adjecimus.* *Juſtin. Ed.* 13. c. 18, 19. (g) *Athanas. Ep. ad Antioch.* (h) *Prim. Ep.* p. 20. (i) *Athanas. Ap.* 2. p. 189. T. 1. id *Ep. ad Antioch.*

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Metole, and a place call'd Andromene was the Episcopal seat of Zoilus, as Athanasius informs us, which two last are in all probability Villages, since there are no such Cities discover'd in Egypt. What this Metole should be where Meletius set up a schismatick Bishop, is not very material to our question, since the practice of Meletius can be of little authority in a dispute concerning Primitive Episcopacy. Schismatics are too apt to innovate, to be cited for examples of primitive practice. Yet considering the rest of the places furnish'd by Meletius with Bishops, were the chief of Egypt, and that this Metole is plac'd in his Catalogue (l) next the Region of Alexandria; I am apt to suspect this reading, and think this Metole is no other then Metilis (m) which gave name to a Prefecture, and was the Metropolis of it. But for this Andromene, it is a monster compos'd of a City and a man, and in pity they ought to be parted. For so they are in the Paris Edition, (n) Zoilus was Bishop of Andron, and Menas was Bishop of Antiphra; now Andron, or Andropolis (o) is the chief City of a Nomus of that name, and Antiphra was a small City in Strabo's time, not far from Alexandria.

(l) Metilis, πόλις Ἀγυπῆς πλησίον Ἀλεξανδρείας ἢ νῦν Βήχης λέγεται. Steph. Ptol. l. 4. (m) Metilis Mel. l. 1. c. 9. (n) Ζόιλος Ἀνδρών, Μήνας Ἀντιφρών. (o) Ἀνδροπόλις νόμος καὶ μετρόπολις Ἀνδρών πόλις. Ptol. l. 4. Strab. l. 17. & Steph. in Ἀντιφρά.

Our Author (p) goes on still in quest of Episcopal villages in *Egypt*, and not finding any more for his turn, he takes upon him to reduce Cities into Villages. *Hypselis* says he, is a Village in *Stephanus*, and had two Bishops at once; *Ansonius*, he would say *Arsenius* of the *Meletian* faction, and *Paul* for the *Orthodox*. (q) That *Hypselis* had an *Orthodox* Bishop at that time, I do not question; but that his name was *Paul* I cannot find in *Athanasius*; there was indeed a Person of that name who liv'd there, and is mention'd by *Athanasius*, (r) but he was only a Monk; but our Author in his haste, was pleas'd to create him a Bishop. But if he does too much honour to his person by one mistake, he does as much disgrace his seat by another. For though *Stephanus* make *Hypselis* a Village, yet was it not so when *Arsenius* was Bishop there; for this *Arsenius* the *Meletian* Bishop, so famous in the story of *Athanasius*, (s) styles himself Bishop of the City of *Hypselis*. *Socrates* speaking of the same person, says (t) that he subscrib'd the condemnation of *Athanasius*, as Bishop of the City of *Hypselis*, with the same right hand which was pretended to have been cut off by *Athanasius*; and *Epiphanius* (u) speaking of this place, gives it the same title. For giving an account of *Scythianus* the Father of the *Manichean* doctrine, he says, that he came to

(p) *Prim. Ep.* p. 20. (q) *Athan. Apol.* 2. (r) Πάυλος
μὲν αὖτε ἀπὸ τῆς ἱλίου. *Pennes Ep. ad Job. apud Athan. Ap.* 2.
(s) *Athan. Ap.* 2. p. 786. T. 1. (t) ὡς τῆς ὑψελουπίου
πύλης ἐπίσκοπος, *Socr.* l. 1. c. 32. (u) *Epiph. Her.* 66.
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτῆς καλεσμένην

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Thebais to a City call'd *Hypselis*: And to conclude, *Ptolomy* (x) makes it the Metropolis of the Country, call'd from it *Hypseliotes*.

(y) *Dracontius* being made a Bishop in the territory of *Alexandria*, could have no City for his seat. (z) Our Author pronounces too rashly from this passage; for the Territory of *Alexandria* is the same with its *Nomus* or Prefecture, and in the same *Nomus* there may be more Cities than one, otherwise all *Egypt* must have but six and thirty Cities, for into so many *Nomi* it was divided. But that this *Dracontius* had a City for his seat, our Author might have learnt from *Athanasius*, (a) in a place which is often cited in this chapter. It was *Hermopolis* the lesser, which *Ptolomy* (b) places in the *Alexandrian* Region, and the only place he mentions there besides *Alexandria*.

(c) *Secontaurtis* was a very small and contemptible Village that *Ischyrras* was made Bishop of, containing so few Inhabitants, that there was never Church there before. And is this then to be a model of Primitive Episcopacy? But this place deserves a more particular consideration: This *Ischyrras* who pretended to be a Presbyter of *Meletius* or *Colluthus* his Ordination, accus'd *Athanasius* of forcing his Church; overthrowing his Communion-Table, and breaking the Chalice; although it was prov'd

(x) ὁ Ἰψηλίωτης τόπος καὶ μετρόπολις Ἰψηλίδος

(y) *Prim. Ep.* p. 21. (z) *Athan. Ep. ad Drac.*

(a) Ἀποκρίσις ἐρμαιοπόλεως μικρᾶς, *Athan. Ep. ad Antioch.*

(b) *Etol.* l. 4. *Steph.*

(c) *Prim. Ep.* p. 21.

he never was a Presbyter, nor had any Church; for there never had been any in his Village. For a reward of calumny, this Hamlet was crected into a Bishop's seat by *Constantius*, in opposition to the Catholick faith, to the rules of the Church, and to (d) ancient tradition and usage of that Country. *Athanasius* (e) is very particular in his Description of this place, which was made the scene of his Accusation; and tells us that *Marcotis* the Region in which this Village was, had always belong'd to the Bishop of *Alexandria* as part of his Diocese; that here never had been a Bishop, nor so much as a *Chorepiscopus* before *Ischyrras*; but the Villages were distributed to Presbyters, some having ten, some more of them to make up one Parish. In this Region there were fourteen Parish Presbyters and thirteen Deacons, as appears by their subscriptions to the Letter they sent to the Synod of *Tyre* on the behalf of their Bishop. This was the state of that place; and since our Author was not ashamed of urging this instance to countenance his notion, I am content the whole cause should be try'd upon this issue, and that it may be judg'd by this instance, which Episcopacy was the primitive, Diocesane or Congregational. Here was a large Region, that

(d) παρὰ τὴν πάλαιαν παράδοσιν, *Athan. Ap.* p. 802. & p. 793. (e) Μαρκότις χώρα τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐστὶν, ἥδε ποτε ἐν τῇ χώρῃ γέγονεν ἐπισκοπὸς ἐδὲ χορεπίσκοπος ἀνὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας ἐπισκοπῇ αἰκωνισαὶ παπὰ τῆς χώρας ἐβόωνται. *Athan. Ap.* 2. p. 802. *Socr. l.* 1. c. 27.

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had many Churches, and many more Villages so near *Alexandria*, that they could not want Christians in the earliest times; yet we are assur'd by a (f) competent Judge of this matter, that this Region never had a Bishop of its own, but was always under the Bishop of *Alexandria*, who at certain times visited it in person. But about three hundred years after St. *Mark* had planted the Church of *Alexandria*, *Constantius* upon the Instigation of the *Arians*, made one of the least of these Villages a Bishop's seat, against all Rule and Prescription, as *Athanasius* contends. Judge then which is most ancient or most primitive in this place, the Diocesan or the Parish Bishop. And since the council of *Sardica* is obliquely tax'd by Mr. *Clerkson*, as guilty of Innovation upon the account of forbidding Bishops to be made in Villages, excepting such where Bishops had been formerly made: This passage is sufficient to clear and justify that Canon against frivolous reflections, since it appears from hence, that there was too much reason to put a check to the innovations of the *Arians*, who for the encouragement and strengthening of the party, took upon them to multiply Bishopricks contrary to the ancient tradition and practice of the Church.

(g) That was little better, where the (h) writers

(f) *Aiban. Ap. 2. p. 792.* (g) *Prim. Ep. p. 21.*
 (h) *Gro. Alex. p. 110. Anon. 345. καμύσειον ἡ μητρόπολις ἐπισκοπῶν ἀνόμεσαι, ἐφ' ἡ μὴ ἐπισκοπῆς ὄρουμα πρὸ τοῦ τῆς*

of the life of Chrysostom tell us, Theophilus of Alexandria settled a Bishop. How long shall we have Innovations urg'd upon us for proof of Primitive Episcopacy? *Theophilus* is justly blam'd by all the writers of *Chrysostom's* life, for erecting new Bishopricks against the Canons of the Church, in places unseemly, and where there had been no Bishop before. And such was this place, which our Author has produc'd for an Episcopal seat; it never had any Bishop before *Theophilus* ordain'd one there. A happy place, where primitive Episcopacy began about four hundred years after Christ, when from the days of St. *Mark* to that time, it had lain under the yoke of Diocesan Usurpation.

Having travell'd through *Egypt*, not with the usual curiosity to see great Cities and Pyramids, but with an humble inquisitiveness to look for Villages, and the obscurest places that had been the seats of Bishops; let us now sit down and recollect what we have observ'd. We have found after great search, that two Villages in *Lybia*, where Cities are not very frequent, once in distracted times had a Bishop, though they had been Parishes belonging to *Erythros* for near four hundred years after Christ. One Village we find had a succession of two Bishops, but the circumstances of the place or people are altogether unknown. Another Village we observ'd in *Lybia*, that gave name to a people, and had a considerable territory. Four Cities we mistook for Villages, not because they were small, but for want of skill. One Village wanted nothing

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nothing of a City but the name, and to make amends for this defect, a large Country was joyn'd to it. One was made a Bishops seat for private ends, about the beginning of the fifth Century, having never been so before, and being then very useful for it. And in the last place there was *Ischyra* his Village, rais'd to a Bishop's seat by the *Arians*, the least of all indeed, and yet much greater than the merit of the Bishop.

unfit

I may be thought perhaps to deal too rigorously with my Adversary; if I should not allow more Episcopal Villages to have been in *Egypt* in old time, than he is able to find at this distance; therefore I am content to grant where he cannot prove, and to take his general observation to supply the defect of particular Evidence; that (i) *there are several things counted usual in the ancient Church, of which no more instances can be given, nor so many.* Be this Village-Episcopacy then one of those usual things in the ancient Church, and in *Egypt* let him reckon twenty if he think fit, or if this be not sufficient, let him take his bill and write forty. Yet when all is done, it will do no service to the Congregational way. For in all *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, there were but an hundred Bishops in the fourth Century, within the compass of which are all the instances of Village Bishops in *Egypt*. *Alexander* (l) reckons near that num-

(i) *Prim. Ep. p. 19.* (l) ἡμεῖς μὲν μετὰ τῶν κατ' Ἀλεξάνδρον ἐπισκόπων, καὶ τῆς Λιβύης ἐγγυὲς ἐκείτων ὄντων, Ἀλεξ. *Ep. Secr. l. 1. c. 6.*

ber; and *Athanasius* (m) pleads, that in *Egypt*, *Libya* and *Pentapolis* there are near an hundred Bishops, and of those not one hath accused me. And long after this time, (n) the old *Notitia* published by *Carolus a Sancto Paulo* has but an hundred and one, and of these several are styl'd from Villages. Now the extent of *Egypt* is variously represented. *Herodotus* (o) makes the line of *Egypt* properly so call'd, along the Sea-shore, to be four hundred and fifty miles, and above eight hundred up the River. (p) *Aristocreon* does not come much short of this account: But *Vossius* (q) hath reason to reject this computation as extravagant, and exceeding the truth by one half. For *Pliny* (r) corrects the Geographers that wrote before him, as to the extent of this Country, from more exact Surveys made in his time; and from these, he shews that the length of *Egypt* up the River, as far as it was navigable, was five hundred and eighty-six miles: But from *Pelusium* to *Canopus* was but an hundred and seventy miles, which was all the Country between the branches of the Nile; but from *Pelusium* Eastward *Egypt* (s) reach'd near two hundred miles. If we add on the West *Libya* and *Pentapolis*, we have a line of five hundred and fifty miles according to the *Nubian Geographer* (t) from *Alexandria* to

(m) *Athan. Ap.* 2. p. 788. ἐγὼς ἑαυτῶν. (n) *Geogr. Sacra. Not. Ant.* p. 55. (o) *Herod.* l. 2. c. 9. (p) *Plin.* l. 5. c. 9. (q) *Voss. Obs. in Mel.* l. 1. c. 9. (r) *Finis navigationis Egyptiæ*, *Plin.* l. 5. c. 9. (s) *Diodor. Sic.* l. 1. (t) *Geogr. Nub.* p. 91. Ed. Par.

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Barca. And (u) *Eratoſthenes* reckons from *Cyrene* to *Alexandria* five and twenty miles leſs. Now this great Country had but an hundred Epifcopal ſeats; and though half of them had fallen out to be in Villages, yet I will leave to any one capable of making any judgment to decide the queſtion, whether they were Diocesan or Pariſh Biſhops. For as in *England* there are Biſhops in Villages, and Towns not much ſuperiour to Villages, and yet the Dioceſes are very large, becauſe the whole Country is divided between ſix and twenty: So in *Egypt* the Dioceſes muſt have been very large, when ſo great a Country for extent and people, had no more than an hundred Biſhops. For upon a modeſt Computation, that which our Author calls the *Dioceſe of Egypt*, was three times as great as *England*; if we conſider the number of the Towns it had in *Ptolomæus Philadelphus* his time, more Towns than any one Country in the world; for *Theocritus* (x) who liv'd then, reckons them above three and thirty thouſand, and ſtyles them Cities; nor have we any reaſon to believe, that their number was diminifh'd under the Roman Government. So that ſuppoſing the Country generally Chriſtian in the fourth Century, every Biſhop, one with another, will have above three hundred Towns within his Dioceſe; ſo large were

(u) *Plin.* l. 5. c. 6. (x) ἑξέ τις ἄρα τῶν ἐποσκοῦν
 ἔχει, *Theocr. Idyll.* 17. τρεῖς μὲν οἱ πόλιν ἑκατόνταδες
 τρεῖς χιλιάδες, τριῶν ἐπὶ μυριάδων, *Sic. Theocr.*
Idyll. 17.

the Bishopricks of old in that Country, and so little is it to the purpose of our Author, to seek for Bishops seats in the Villages of *Egypt*.

From *Egypt*, we are to travel like the Children of *Israel* into the Deserts of *Arabia*, but not with so good a guide. Those who travel in this Country must not expect to meet Cities very frequent, and ought to be thankful, if now and then they happen upon a good Village. Our Author has found some here that were Bishops seats. For (y) in the Council of Ephesus there was Episcopus Bacathensis, and Epiphanius (z) calls Bacathum a chief Village in Arabia. In that part of Arabia which was annexed to Palestine, there was good store of Bishops in Villages, as appears by the ancient Catalogue in Gulielmus Tyrius. There is no need to mention particulars, since Sozomen (a) assures us that there ἐν πόλεσιν ἐπισκοπῆς ἱερουργοί.

It is no wonder if in *Arabia*, where Cities are very rare, that Bishops should be ordain'd in Villages; for (b) all barbarous People chose rather to live at large, scattered in Villages, than throng'd in Cities: And Aristotle reproaches his Stagyrines for refusing the privilege of a City, when Olynthus to which they belong'd, was destroy'd by Philip, and that

(y) Prim. Ep. p. 21. (z) μεταρραμίαν τῆς Ἀραβίας, Epiph. Anaceph. p. 141. (a) Soz. Hist. l. 7. c. 19.

(b) ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ μᾶλλον ἡγήντο καὶ διαμένειν κατὰ κώμας καὶ βασιλείαις ἢ πόλεσιν ἢ ἀστυίοις καὶ ὄρκοις ἐχέειν, Dio. Chrys. Or. 47.

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they were better satisfy'd to live in Villages, after the manner of *Barbarians* rather than *Greeks*. But in these Countries where some Villages had Bishops, the Dioceses were no less, nay generally greater than where Cities were numerous. So in the Northern Countries of *Europe* the Bishopricks are much larger than in *Italy* or *Greece*. So the Bishopricks of *Cappadocia*, of *Armenia* and *Arabia*, were greater than those of *Syria* or the lesser *Asia*, as may easily appear by comparing their numbers in the ancientest Catalogues we have extant, or in the subscriptions of provincial Councils. (c) *Bacathon* was a *Mother Village* in the *Philadelphian Arabia*; and that title sufficiently denotes, that it had other Villages and Parishes of its resort. For (d) a *Mother Village* in respect of Villages, is what a *Metropolis* is to the Cities of its dependance. The Catalogue of Bishopricks in *Guilelmus Tyrius* is no older than the twelfth Century, and is no other than a piece of that *Notitia* which goes under the title of *Ordo Provincialis*, of which I must give a more particular account hereafter. And for the Testimony of *Sozomen*, it is to be observ'd, that he mentions the ordaining of Bishops in *Arabia*, and in *Cyprus*, as a thing unusual and of rare example, because he compares it with the practice of the *Scythians*, who had but one Bishop for a Nation, though they had many Cities. But let us

(c) ἐν Βακθῶνι τῆς φιλαδελφείας πόλις Epiph. Her. 158.
 1. (d) Metrocemia id inter vicos est, quod Metropolis inter Urbes. *Geogr. Ann. C. Tb. l. 11. Tit. 25. §. 1.*

leave

leave this wild Country, and follow our Author whither he is pleas'd to lead.

(e) In Syria, Theodoret tells us of Paul a Confessor, in the Persecution by Licinius, one of the Fathers of the first Council of Nice, and Bishop of Neocæsarea, which he says, is a Castle or a Fort near Euphrates. Why this place should be reckon'd among Villages, I can see no reason, since the word (f) which he renders Castle or Fort, signifies any fortify'd place; for even Cities pass under this name, as Gotofred (g) has observed; and those places which Eunapius (h) calls Fortresses, Ammianus Marcellinus (i) styles Cities; and Pinaca a City of the Parthians upon the Tygris, is styl'd by Strabo (l) a Fortress, consisting of three Castles, which made it in a manner a Tripolis, i. e. three Cities. It is not therefore fair to reduce this Town into the condition of a Village, because it was a Garrison, and a fortify'd place; whereas notwithstanding this, it might have been a City; but I will not contend about words. For though this place should have been no better than a Village, yet are we never the nearer to know the extent of this Confessor's Bishoprick, unless our Author would think fit to confine him within the walls; for perhaps the bounds of

(e) *Prim. Ep. p. 21, 22.* (f) *ὀχυρόν. Theod. Hist. Ecl. l. 1. c. 7.* (g) *Et si non sum nescius de omnibus munitis locis, in quibus & civitates, ὀχυρά quoque dici, Gotofr. in l. 15. de Eroq. Mil. Annon.* (h) *Eunap. excerpt. leg. (i) Ammian. Marc. l. 18. p. 187.* (l) *Strab. l. 16. περὶ τῆς ποταμῆος.*

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this Diocese were laid out when the Castle was besieged.

(m) Maronia is describ'd by Jerom to be a Village 30 miles from Antioch; and we meet (n) with a Bishop there, and the name of him Timothy. That there was such a Village Jerom (o) tells us; but that it had a Bishop, neither he nor any body else ever said before our Author. This little place indeed had a Church, and was the possession of *Evagrius*, a Kinsman of *St. Jerom*, who was sometime Bishop of *Antioch*; and probably this Village, though distant 30 miles, did belong to that City. But *George in the life of Chrysostom* saith, it had a Bishop named Timothy. He says indeed, that there was a Bishop of *Maronia*; but that this was the place, neither he nor any body else affirm'd before. There were two Cities of this name, one in the *Syrian Chalcis*, and the other in *Thrace*, both which *Ptolomy* (p) mentions. The Bishop of the latter in all probability, was the person who suffer'd in the cause of *Chrysostom*, for he was of his Province, *Thrace* having long before been subject to *Constantinople*; and in less then 30 years after, we find one (q) *Docimasius* Bishop of that City among the subscribers of the first Council of *Ephesus*, and many ages before this, *Polybius* (r) makes mention of this City.

(m) P. 22. (n) *Georg. Alex. vit. Chryf.* p. 236.

(o) *Hieron. in vit. Malchi. Mon.* (p) *Ge. Ptol.* l. 5. & l. 3. (q) *Docimasius Diæcesis Thraciæ, Provinciæ Rhodopes, Civitatis Maroniæ, Conc. Eph.* p. 535. *Ed. Labb.* (r) *Polyb. Hist.* l. 5.

To proceed, Athanasius (s) gives us the name of a Bishop in Calana, and of another in Siemium, which were Villages, or such obscure inconsiderable places, as no Geographer takes notice of. King James his Regulators were not more dangerous men to the Franchises of our Corporations, than this Author is to ancient Cities; for if there be but a letter amiss, the Charter is forfeited, and it sinks into an obscure Village. This is the case of Calana, because there is a C. where there should be a B. our Author has dis-franchis'd it. The place where Euphrasion was Bishop, was Balanea; so it is writ in Antonin's Itinerary; 27 miles from Gabala, and 24 from Antaratadus. Stephanus (t) styles it a City of Phœnicia, in his time call'd Leucas; and adds, that Epicrates had writ an *Encomium* upon it. Ptolomy (u) names it next to Paltis, and so does (x) Pliny; in the same order it lies in Athanasius. But why must this be Euphrasion's Town? Because the same Euphrasion among the subscribers of the first council of Nice, writes himself Bishop of Balanea; but I have better proof than this, it is because Athanasius himself makes him Bishop of that City. For speaking of the Bishops who were depriv'd for adhering to him, he says (y) that Balanea mourns for Euphrasion. For Siemium, whether it be a Village or a City, or any

(s) *Athin. Ep. ad Solitar. vii. deg. p. 812. T. 1.*
 (t) Βαλάνεα πόλις; φοινίκης ἢ νῦν λέucas, *Steph.* (u) Βα-
 λαν. *Ptol. l. 4.* (x) *Plin. l. 5.* (y) *Athin. Ap. 1.*
Initio.

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thing, I cannot tell; 'tis possibly a mistake of the Copist for the name of some City. For it is not likely that *Athanasius* who had Bishops of the principal Cities of all parts sufferers for his sake, would think fit to omit so many of considerable and known titles, and to name the Bishop of a place unknown to all Geographers. Here may be room for conjecture, but I dare not venture, knowing the temper of my Adversaries to be too captious to make necessary allowance for critical divination.

But it is in vain it seems to contend; (z) for the Council of Antioch in their Synodal Epistle (a) concerning Paulus Samosatenus mention (b) Bishops both in Country and Cities: These Country Bishops, who were the flatterers of Paulus Samosatenus, Valesius (c) takes to be *Chorepiscopi*, and the meanness of their behaviour makes it probable that they were of his own Diocese, and had dependence upon him. But whatever they were, it does not appear from this, or any thing else, that they were Parish Bishops; for even the *Chorepiscopi* had many Villages and Congregations under their superintendence.

Let it not seem tedious to the Reader, that he is led on through Villages only, and obscure places, for it is in his way to the

(z) *Prim. Ep.* p. 22. (a) *Euseb. H. E. l. 7.* (b) ἐπισκοπῶν ἀγρῶν καὶ πόλεων. (c) *Chorepiscopus* intelligere videtur; eos enim distinguit Epistola ab Episcopis Urbium. Vale.

holy Land; yet to mortify his curiosity, he must not see either *Jerusalem* or *Casarea*, or any other City; only he may if he please take notice, that in Palestine, *Jamnia* (d) was a Village in *Strabo's* account; so is *Lydda* in *Josephus*, yet both Bishops seats in *Tyrius* his Catalogue; so is *Nais* there and *Zoaron*. This Catalogue of *William* Arch-Bishop of *Tyre* is nothing else but a piece of the *Ordo Provincialis*, written since the 12th Century, and publish'd long ago. It hath several Bishops sees erected in that Century. And tho' some Copies of it that I have seen, are later than this time, yet I could not find any more ancient. So it is an extraordinary way of proving Primitive Episcopacy. *Jamnia* and *Lydda* were Villages in *Strabo* and *Josephus*; and about eleven and twelve hundred years after are Bishops seats. But I will not insist upon this, because I know those places had Bishops in the first Century, or sooner, and long before that time were accounted Cities. *Pliny* (e) mentions two *Jamnias*, whereof one was a City, the other a Village. *Ptolomy* (f) places *Jamnia* among the Cities of *Judea*, and *Stephanus* (g) calls it a small City, and in the time of the *Macchabees* (h) it had the title of a City; and even *Strabo*, who calls it a Village, makes it so populous, that from that and some neighbouring places 40000 men took arms upon the suddain; and this place had dependen-

5th

(d) Prim. ep. p. 22.
Plin. ep. 5. c. 13.

(e) Jamnes duæ, altera vicus.
(f) Ptol. l. 5.

(g) Πολί-
τις. (h) 1 Mach. 5. 59. ἐπορεύθησαν ἐπὶ ἰαμιέιαν
καὶ ἐξήλθον γόργας καὶ τῆς πόλεως.

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ces, for it is joyn'd with *Joppe*, and with it is said (i) to preside over the neighbouring Region. For *Lidda*, tho' *Josephus* calls it a Village, yet he adds (l) that it was not inferior to a City : But this is not all, for this great Village was made a City and call'd *Diospolis* ; it is mention'd by *Pliny*, *Stephanus*, *St. Jerom* and *Theodoret*, (m) with an account of the change of the name. *Nais* is not to be found in any ancient *Notitiæ* or Subscriptions, and therefore in probability may be of late erection. But *Zoara* is the *Zoar* in *Genesis* ; and in *Josephus* (n) his time belong'd not to *Palestine*, but to *Arabia* ; tho' in *Leo* the wise his *Notitia*, it is plac'd in the third *Palestine* ; but that it may not be thought too meanly of, it is by *Stephanus* (o) said to be a great Village, and a Garison, and *Ptolomy* mentions it. So that in all *Palestine*, properly so call'd, our Author has found no Village. *Lydda* and *Jamnia* were Cities, and *Zoar*, and *Nais*, belong to *Arabia*. But (p) in one of the three *Palestines* there's an account of fourteen Villages which were Bishops sees. Those Villages did not belong to *Palestine*, but to *Arabia*, according to the *Notitia* of *Leo* ; and it is no wonder if in that Country where there were scarce any Cities, we should find Bishops seated in Villages. And that we may not think all those places that pass for Villages in that Country as

(i) τῶν περιόρων ἐφηγῆνται. *Joseph.* (l) πάλαις τὸ μέγας ἔχαστα. (m) *Theod. H. E. l. i. c. 5.* ἄλλοι δὲ ἔστιν ἡ νῦν καλεωμένη Διοσπολις. *Lyddam* versam in *Diospolin*. *Hieron. Epit. Paulæ.* (n) *Joseph. B. I. l. 4. c. 27.* (o) βῶντι μεγάλη καὶ τέρριον ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ. *Steph.* (p) *Prim. ep. p. 22.*

inconsiderable

inconsiderable as those with us, *Josephus* (q) tells us that *Vespasian* took two Villages in the middle of *Idumea*, a Country which generally goes in later writers for part of *Arabia*: Their names were *Betarni*, and *Caphar-Toba*; he kill'd in them above 10000, takes 1000 Captives, and drives the rest away. The Remark of *Mirans*, (r) which our Author quotes, is too considerable to be omitted; for upon occasion of these Episcopal Villages, he observes, that *κωμ* signifies a Village, and there were several such under the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*. But it had been more to the purpose of our Author to have produc'd some proof, that these Bishopricks had been of ancient Erection. For if they should be new, they would give but sorry evidence for primitive Episcopacy; and that many of them were of a late date, the Catalogue of the Archbishop of *Tyre*, or the *Ordo Provincialis* informs us, that upon the Erection of *Jerusalem* into a Patriarchal seat, some Bishopricks were taken from the Patriarch of *Antioch*, and others from him of *Alexandria*, and some new erected; and because the new Patriarch besides those *Metropoles*, ought to have *Suffragans*, they withdrew some from those *Metropolitans*, and annex'd them to *Jerusalem*, and some they erected new, to the number of 25. *Jerusalem* was made Patriarchal in the sixth Century, and then it seems those Bishopricks had their Original; nor

(q) *B. iud. l. 4. c. 26.* (r) *P. 22, 23.*

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were they yet so many in the beginning of that Age, as appears by the subscriptions of a full (s) Synod of the three Palestines, which in all are but 35; whereas the *Arabian* Bishops which our Author accounts to *Palestine*, were as many. To these belong'd (t) *Tricomia*, *Pentacomia*, *Hexacomia*, and *Eneacomia*, of which there is no account before the ninth Century; and what they were, is not easie to guess at this distance; whether they were so many Villages as the names denote, reduc'd to one, as *Athens* was compos'd of several Villages of *Attica*; or whether they were still distinct; or whether they were only the chief and Mother Villages; what distance, what numbers, what convenience for personal Communion, are things now as hard to know, as it is to find the place where they once stood. So that this can give no evidence for primitive Episcopacy, since they were erected later, and it is impossible to know their bounds. Our Author's (u) guess from the names of *Pentacomia*, *Hexacomia*, &c. that each of them was a Precinct consisting of so many Villages as the names import, may be a mistake. For among the Cities of the greater *Phrygia*, *Ptolomy* (x) mentions one call'd *Tricomia*; and *Strabo* (y) has an account of a People called *Heptacometa*, living in the mountains near *Colchis*, so considerable that they destroy'd three Cohorts of *Pompey*, and must be more than seven Villages or *Hamlets* could furnish. Much less can we

(s) *Conc. Hieros. A. 518. apud Conc. gen. 5.* (t) *Prim. Ep p. 23.* (u) *Prim. Ep. p. 23.* (x) *Ptol. l. 5.* (y) *Strab. l. 12.*

judge of *Prapedius* his Diocese, who is said (z) to have the Inspection of many Villages, or so much as determine whether he ever were a Bishop, but only a *Chorepiscopus* or Deputy of the City-Bishop for some part of his Territory. And such a one it seems *Valesius* judg'd him to be.

What is alledg'd out of Mr. *Fuller*, is produc'd I suppose, more for the jest than for argument. *Lydda*, *Jamnia* and *Joppa*, were neither such inconsiderable places, nor so near one another as he pretends. *Joppa* is a City in *Josephus*, and so are the other two in other Authors, as I have shew'd already, and had a considerable Region under them. And for their distance *Antonine's* Itinerary makes *Diospolis* or *Lydda*, twelve miles from *Jamnia*; and their distance from *Joppa* is not certain from any ancient Author; what Travellers report from the tradition of the Country, deserves little credit. For the site of many of those places is at this time as uncertain, as where *Simon* the Tanner's house stood in *Joppa*, or *Pilate's* in *Jerusalem*; and yet such things, and many more as minute, are shewn to Travellers, who have more civility than to gain-say the Tradition of the Country, of which the Inhabitants make no small gain. And the reason why Geographers have not mention'd these places in *Tyrius* his late Catalogue, was not for shame, for they have many places as inconsiderable; but because they were found only in a Catalogue, and mention'd in no History.

(z) Scz. l. 6. c. 24. πολλὰς ἐπισκοπὰς καὶ μάλιστα

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From (a) *Palestine* and the Patriarchat of *Jerusalem*, we come to *Cyprus*, where *Sozomen* (b) tells us, it was usual to have Bishops in Villages, as also in other Countries, without regard it seems to any restraint, which some Bishops endeavour'd to put upon that practice; and thus it continues with the Cypriots to this age. The first thing I shall take notice of, is a little disingenuous Artifice of our Author, in transposing these words in other Countries, as if *Sozomen* when he had named *Cyprus*, had added other Countries indefinitely, and spoken of a thing usual in many Countries. But that Historian shewing the different traditions and practice of several Nations, observes, that the *Scythians*, though they had many Cities, yet had but one Bishop. In other Nations, as in *Cyprus* and *Arabia*, there were Bishops in Villages, setting one unusual practice against another, and intimating, that he knew of no other Countries where they had Village-Bishops; and therefore having no other Instances in the Catholick Church, he takes notice of the *Montanists* and *Novatians*, who in *Phrygia* had Bishops in Villages. So that from this passage we ought rather to conclude, that it was not usual in other Countries, besides those specified in this passage, to have Village-Bishops; at least-wise, that *Sozomen* knew no other, or did not remember any when he wrote that passage. Now, though in *Cyprus* some Villages were Bishops seats, yet may

(a) *Prim. Ep.* p. 24. (b) l. 7. c. 19. ἐν κώμαις ἐπίσκοποι
ἐφ' ἑνὶ πλῑν κατὰ κωτείοις, — ἐν ἄλλοις ἐπίσκοποι.

we not conclude, that either all, or the greatest part were such; nor can we make any guess how many Villages went to make up a Diocese in *Cyprus*. *Gratian* (c) Bishop of *Ameria* tells us, that in the Island there are 840 Villages, and about two hundred thousand Souls. The ancient state of this Island is not to be taken from the present calamitous condition under which it groans; for in *Trajan's* time (d) there were more men destroy'd here by the Jews in one day, than are now in all the Country. Mr. *Clerkson* tells us without any Author, that *whereas there are betwixt twenty and thirty Bishops in that Island, (and it is likely the number has decreas'd there, as in many other places) there are but four of their seats which have the face of a City.* As to the present state of *Cyprus* (e) there are but four suffragan Bishops in the whole Island; and if Mr. *Clerkson* had consulted his *Mirans* upon this occasion, he had found there but four Greek Bishops, and five Latins, before it was taken by the *Turks*. In *Hierocles* his *Notitia* it had fifteen Cities, and yet in that of *Leo* the wise, we find but thirteen Bishops; nor can we find, that ever it had more in elder times; for *Carolus a S. Paulo* (f) could not find above twelve Bishops seats from the subscriptions of Councils and other ancient writings. The Sy-

(c) *De Bell. Cypr. p. 1.* (d) *Dio. Cass. in Trajano.*

(e) In *Cypriana Provincia* quatuor tantum *Episcopi suffraganei* numerantur. *Dr. Smith Græc. stat. Hod. p. 71.*

(f) *Geogr. Sac. p. 506.*

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nodical letter (g) of the *Cyprian* Bishops to Pope *Theodorus* against the Monothelites has no subscriptions, and so the number of them is unknown; and what number the Synod (h) under *Epiphanius*, that condemned the writings of *Origen*, did consist of, is as much in the dark. But that *Epiphanius* (i) had himself a large Diocese in *Cyprus*, hath been already shew'd in another place.

In pursuit of *Primitive Episcopacy*, we are carry'd from *Cyprus* to *Armenia*, where the *Catholick* had above 1000 Bishops under his obedience, as (a) *Otto Frisingenses* writes from the report of the *Armenian Legates*; and after him (b) *Baronius* and our *Brierwood*. (c) Yet both the *Armenia's* in *Justinian's* time, who made the most of them, made but four Provinces, which had in all but twenty Cities.—If the *Armenian Bishops* had not amounted to above the twentieth part of the number, yet more than one half of them must be *Village-Bishops*. Since *Brierwood* is cited for voucher of these 1000 Bishops, I am content to submit the whole matter to his Arbitration. He (d) thought, that *Otho* mistook perhaps Obedience for Communion, as he verily believ'd he did; for the Communion which the *Armenians* maintain'd with other *Jacobites*, extended indeed very far; but the jurisdiction of *Armenia* contain'd only four Provinces, in which small Circuit, that such a multitude

(g) *Baron. Anal. A.* 643. (h) *Socr. l.* 6. c. 10.

(i) *Vindic. of Prim. Ch. p.* 554, 555. (a) *l.* 7. c.

32. (b) *Ann.* 1145. (c) *Prim. Ep. p.* 24, 25.

(d) *Brier. Eqq. p.* 127.

of Bishops should be found, is utterly incredible; for all the Bishops of Armenia in Leo's Novel, and those of Cilicia in Guilelmus Tyrius, put together, exceed not the number of thirty. And although I find that Justinian divided the two Armenia's into four Provinces, yet were not for that cause the number of Bishops increased any whit the more.

(e) Justinian when he made a new distribution of Armenia into four Provinces, made an exprefs provision, (f) that the Ecclesiastical state of the Country should not be affected with this alteration of the civil forms; and therefore we find in all Armenia, that belonged to the Roman Empire, but two Ecclesiastical Provinces in Leo's *Diatyposis*, which was the ancient distribution of that Country. Of these two Justinian made three, and annexed to them some Cities from other Provinces, which notwithstanding remain'd in their former dependance as to Ecclesiastical matters. To these Provinces he added a fourth, which was never before reduc'd into the form of a Province, which was before divided into several Satrapies of barbarous names. This is represented in Leo's *Notitia*, (g) under the title of the higher *Mesopotamia*, or fourth Armenia, and divided into two parts. In the first we have *Martyropolis* mention'd by Justinian, and 33 Bishops seats more under the Metropolis of *Amida*. And in the second

(e) Nov. 31. c. 2. (f) Quæ vero ad Sacerdotia spectant, volumus in eadem manere forma, — quantum ad ipsa nil penitus innovetur (g) Nov. 31. c. 2.

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part, there are most of those barbarous names mention'd by *Justinian*, *Sophene*, *Bilabirene*, *Asiatica*, *Anzirene*, together with *Cetharizan*, call'd by *Justinian* *φρέειον*, and in the *Notitia*, if I mistake not, styl'd *παλίχυν*, though that pass'd with the Transcriber for the name of a Town. In this division there are 17 Bishops; in all 52. At the bottom of this last division we have this Remark, that this *Armenia* is Independent, and belongs to no Patriarch, upon the account of *St. Gregory of Armenia*, and it has 200 Cities and fortify'd Towns. So far were all the *Armenia's* from having 1000 Bishops in the ninth Century. And before this, about the middle of the fifth Century, we find in the first *Armenia* but six Bishops subscribing to the Synodical Epistle (b) of that Province, in confirmation of the Council of *Chalcedon*; and in the second *Armenia*, but three; And yet the Metropolitans of each speak (i) of their Synod as entire. So far is the most ancient state of *Armenia* from the fabulous pretences of those Legats.

Nor do the *Armenian* Legats say, there were 1000 Bishops in *Armenia*, but under the *Armenian* Catholick, whose Jurisdiction might reach much farther than *Armenia*. Some affirm, that all the Christians in *Cathaia* and *India* were under this *Armenian* Patriarch.

(b) *Conc. Chalced. Pars. 3.* (i) *Cum Sancto Concilio quod mecum est. Ep. Arm. 1. Una cum Episcopis nostræ Provinciæ. Ep. Episc. Arm. 2.*

So *Josephus Indus*; (l) and how many Bishops might be in those Countries in the twelfth Century, will be something hard to be inform'd. And even now that *Catholick* is not confin'd to *Armenia*, though the condition of his Churches be very low. For in a Catalogue (m) of the present Bishopricks under the *Armenian* Patriarch, we find several in *Persia*, and others in *Cappadocia*, and others belonging to other Provinces; and all together scarce make up an hundred Arch-Bishops and Bishops.

But to speak freely, and to conclude this point, the relation of the *Armenian* Legats seems to need confirmation. For besides, that there is no account of the tenth part of this number of Bishops belonging to the *Catholick*, either before or since; There is otherwise very little credit to be given to the report of these Legats. For one of them, (n) when the Pope sai'd Mass, affirm'd he saw a Sun beam of unusual brightness rest upon the Pope's head, and two Doves ascending and descending in it. How easie was it for these to make 1000 Bishops in a remote Country, when they had the confidence to put such gross fictions upon the Court of *Rome*? But both had one end, to flatter the Pope, who was now in some distrefs driven out of *Rome*, and residing at *Viterbo*. And there-

(l) *Jos. Indi. Nav.* c. 133. p. 204. *Muller. Disq. de Calabaia* p. 89. (m) *Hist. Critique de la creance de rel. du Levant*, p. 217. (n) *Baron. A.* 1145. 523.

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fore (o) the new accession of so ample Communion as that of a 1000 remote Bishops, was to comfort him for the undutifulness of those nearer home; and it is the usual artifice of that See, when its authority declines at home, to dress up some Impostor, who shall come from the ends of the earth to worship the Pope in the name of some great Patriarch, or some numerous Eastern Sect.

In Lazica, Justinian (p) finds seven Castles and but one City, and that made so by himself, (q) Petravon. Yet in the *Diatyposis* of Leo, in Lazica there are fifteen Bishops belonging to one Metropolis. It is a miserable thing to travel so far for an Argument, and to bring back such a trifle. Lazica in Justinian's time had but one City, And in Leo the Wise his Reign, i. e. 350 years after had 15 Bishops. So long tract of time may have made great alteration in that Country, and produce as many Cities as there were Bishops; and therefore this Argument for so many Village-Bishops in that Country is but an humble begging of the Question, and depends entirely upon the good nature of the Reader. But the fact it self is as uncertain as the conclusion drawn from it. For it does not appear that in Leo the Wise his time, Lazica had so many Bishops. For in the (r) *Notitia* Printed by Car a S. Paulo, and after him by Goar, and last of all by Dr. Beveridge, said to be made in

(o) Deficientibus Romanis Arnaldistis universus terrarum Orbis confluit. *Baron.* (p) Nov. 28. (q) Prim. ep. p. 25. (r) Ταῖς προκωνυσιάζαι, &c.

that Emperors reign, *A. D.* 890. *Lazica* had but 4 Bishops under the Metropolis of *Phasis*; and in an old *Notitia* of the Patriarchat of *C. P.* we find the same number. But that which our Author cites and commonly passes under the name of *Leo's Diatyposis*, is of the later date; as appears by several names of places later than *Leo's* time. And even in that, *Lazica* had not the same bounds as it had in *Justinian's* time, partly mentioned in his *Novel*, but more exactly by *Procopius*. (s) For when *Lazica* had 15 Bishops, they were under the Metropolis of *Trapezus*, which belong'd to *Pontus Polemoniacus*, and in the Ancient *Notitia* placed under *Neocasarea*; but at a great distance from *Justinian's Lazica*, and that exhibited in the old *Notitia*. For from *Trapezus* to *Phasis*, *Strabo* (t) reckons 300 miles, and we are told by *Procopius* (u) that all that lyes off *Lazica* on the West of the River *Phasis*, is but a days journey for a Footman. These 15 Bishops therefore will do no service to the Congregational design; since it is uncertain what sort of places they had for their Seats, or what extent of Diocese each may have. Only this will appear, that supposing *Trapezus* the Metropolis in *Leo's Diatyposis* to be the remotest place of the Province Westward, the length will be near 400 miles, to be distributed between 15 Bishops. I ought not to dismiss this instance without taking notice of the condescension of our Author in following the blundering Translatour of the *No-*

(s) *Procop. B. Pers. l. 2.*
bel. Pers. l. 2.

(t) *Str. l. 12.*

(u) *Pro-*

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vels, and putting *Petravon* or *Petraeon*, (x) for *Petra*, by the same Grammar as one might take the Nominative of *London*, to be *Londinensium*.

In *Lycaonia*, and the parts adjacent, we have more instances hereof. Here (z) the Apostles ordained Elders in every Church. Those Elders were Bishops, as they assure us, who have modell'd the Principles by which Prelacy may be maintain'd with most advantage, and without which (whatever their Predecessours thought) they judg'd it not defensible. If one should be so peevish, as to deny that these Presbyters were Bishops, and oppose to the opinion of Dr. *Hammond* the stream of ancient and modern Interpreters; an elaborate and hopeful argument would come to nothing. But because it is so meek and harmless a thing, let these Presbyters be Bishops by courtesie, and let us abide the consequence. (a) The places where these Bishops were constituted, are mention'd, v. 20, 21. *Antioch*, *Iconium*, *Derbe*, *Lystra*; — lesser Towns, or Country Granges and Village. Be it so. But did the Apostles confine the care and authority of these Bishops wholly to these Villages, in which they were ordain'd? Without this concession, the argument will have no force; and before we grant, let us consider what our Author offers concerning these places. *Antioch* was the Metropolis of *Pisidia*, and a great City, yet not so great, but all the Inhabitants

(x) ἡ πετραίων. (y) *Prim. Episc.* p. 25, 26. (z) *Act.* 14. 2, 3. (a) *Prim. Ep.* p. 26.

in a manner could meet together to hear the word. St. Luke (b) indeed says, *that the whole City almost came together to hear the word*; but that the Jews Synagogue would contain all the City, he neither says, nor can we reasonably believe. For expressions of this nature have an allow'd favour of construction among all men; and when a whole City is said to come together, men understand only a great multitude, without any rigorous computation, what proportion such an assembly may bear to the whole City. Moses is said (c) *to speak in the Ears of all the Congregation of Israel the words of his song*; (d) *and he made an end of speaking all these words to all Israel.* When Moses number'd the people, they were above six hundred thousand men fit for service, besides women and children, which could not be less than three times as many. And to speak in the ears of all these together, had been one of the greatest miracles that ever Moses had done, and such as the holy Ghost would not have passed unobserved. (e) *All the people of the great Antioch are said to come together to see Julian the Monk.* All the People of C. P. come daily to us, say (f) the Oriental Bishops who were stoped at Chalcedon by the Emperor's order. And the Author of the life of Paul Bishop of C. P. says, *that the whole City of C. P. came to the Church call'd by the name of the Apostles.* And Cyrill (g) says that *all the people*

(b) Acts 13. 44. (c) Deut. 31. 30. (d) Deut. 32. 45.
 (e) Theodoret. Hist. Relig. πάντες πάντων ᾤθησαν.
 (f) Apud Conc. Ephes. (g) Phot. cod. 257.

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of the City of Ephesus attended him to the Council. St. Jerom speaking of the Penance *Fabiola* did on Easter Eve, for marrying while her first Husband, whom she had divorc'd, was alive, (h) saith, that it was in the sight of the whole City of Rome; and in the same Treatise says, that all the people of Rome came to the funeral of that Lady. And if the greatest Cities of the world may be thought so thin of people, as to be able to furnish but one Assembly; what shall we say to that expression (l) of Jerom, that all the people of the Cities of Palestine came to the funeral of Paula? Wherefore, if our Author's remark may diminish Antioch in Pisidia to the Congregational measure, because the whole City almost came together to hear the Apostles; the greatest Cities in the world must shrink into a single Congregation, because the same expression is used of them too; and without any such guard or correction, as almost, or in a manner, (m) which St. Luke thought fit to interpose. It may seem very unnecessary to insist so much upon the proof of a matter so obvious to every Reader. But the importunity and cavils of my Adversary, who snatches at such expressions as these, the whole Town, all the People, as arguments for his Congregational Episcopacy, have oblig'd me to it. And whoever

(h) Tota spectante Urbe Romana. Hier. Epit. Fabiola. (i) Totius Urbis populum ad exequias Congregabat. Ibid. (l) Tota ad funus ejus Palestinarum Urbium turba convenit. Hieron. Epit. Paula. (m) ὡς ἐν πόλει. Acts 13.

is once engag'd with a Caviller, cannot well avoid the mean drudgery of descending to very jejune explanations.

(n) Iconium in Strabo (o) is but a small Town, but well built; by which we may judge of those places which were Bishops seats under it. There are fifteen of them in Leo's Diatyposis. There is but little reason to fancy any of these Bishops seats to be Villages; since in the civil *Notitia* of the Eastern Empire, ascribed to *Hierocles*, there are seventeen Cities under the Metropolis of *Iconium*. And tho' it might not be a very great City in *Strabo's* time; yet being made the Residence of the chief Roman Magistrate in that Country, it may reasonably be thought to have received considerable increase, and so it seems to have done. For *Pliny* (p) takes notice of a Tetrarchy of *Lycaonia* on that side where it joyns to *Galatia*, in which there were fourteen Cities, of which *Iconium* was the most renown'd. Among other Cities belonging to the Metropolis of *Iconium*, we find *Homona* or *Homonada*. In the whole Territory there were no less than 44 fortify'd places, in the time of *Pliny*. (q) It was not long when *Strabo* wrote, since those Countries had been recovered from the Tyrants and Pirats who oppress'd them; and *Strabo* (r) tells us, that he had seen *Servilius Isauricus*. In *Constan-*

(n) *Prim. Ep.* p. 26. (o) *Str.* l. 12. πο'λις ἰκόνιον ἐν ὠκειστοῦ. (p) *Datur & Tetrarchia Lycaonia civitatum* 14. urbe celeberrima Iconio, *Plin.* l. 5. c. 27. (q) *Ibid.* (r) *Pr.* l. 12.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 95

rius his time *Iconium* belonged (s) to *Pisidia*; but was then so considerable, that it had an Amphitheatre and publick shews, which were not ordinarily exhibited but in the place where the chief Governour of the Province resided: And *Basil* (t) accounts it to *Pisidia*, and gives (u) some intimation of the rise of it into a Metropolis, that *anciently it was the second City*, i. e. after *Antioch*. But now it is become a Metropolis and presides over a part, which being made up of several pieces, makes up one Province. And that *Lycania* was then under it, the same (x) *Basil* intimates, and what else at this distance we cannot tell, since the Province belonging to it is said to be made up of several parcels. So that *Strabo's* calling it a little Town, does not conclude it to be so in after-times when it was made a Metropolis, nor lessen the Towns depending upon it. And this way of reasoning is as if one should observe, that in *Julian* the Apostate's time *Paris* is (y) call'd a little Town; therefore by this we may judg what pitiful Towns those of *France* are now, which are and have for a long time been subject to that royal City. Nor does it always happen, that the Metropolis is greater than all the Cities under her jurisdiction.

(z) *Derbe* in *Stephanus* (a) is a Fort or Castle of *Isauria*, the seat of the Tyrant *Antipater*. This

(s) *Ammian. Marc. l. 14. Oppidum Pisidiae.* (t) *Basil. ep. 2. πάλαι ἐστὶ Πισιδίας.* (u) *το παλαιὸν μετὰ τὴν μέγιστον ἢ πρῶτον, νῦν δ.* (x) *Basil. Ep. 397.* * (y) *Julian in μισοπώγ.* (z) *Prim. Ep. p. 26.* (a) *φρούριον Τυραννοῦ.* *Strab. l. 12.*

is once engag'd with a Caviller, cannot well avoid the mean drudgery of descending to very jejune explanations.

(n) Iconium in Strabo (o) is but a small Town, but well built; by which we may judge of those places which were Bishops seats under it. There are fifteen of them in Leo's Diatypolis. There is but little reason to fancy any of these Bishops seats to be Villages; since in the civil Notitia of the Eastern Empire, ascribed to Hierocles, there are seventeen Cities under the Metropolis of Iconium. And tho' it might not be a very great City in Strabo's time; yet being made the Residence of the chief Roman Magistrate in that Country, it may reasonably be thought to have received considerable increase, and so it seems to have done. For Pliny (p) takes notice of a Tetrarchy of Lycaonia on that side where it joyns to Galatia, in which there were fourteen Cities, of which Iconium was the most renown'd. Among other Cities belonging to the Metropolis of Iconium, we find Homona or Homonada. In the whole Territory there were no less than 44 fortify'd places, in the time of Pliny. (q) It was not long when Strabo wrote, since those Countries had been recovered from the Tyrants and Pirats who oppress'd them; and Strabo (r) tells us, that he had seen Servilius Isauricus. In Constan-

(n) *Prim. Ep.* p. 26. (o) *Str.* l. 12. πολὺν ἐν οὐρεσσίν. (p) *Datur & Tetrarchia Lycaonia civitatum* 14. *urbe celeberrima Iconio.* *Plin.* l. 5. c. 27. (q) *Ibid.* (r) *Pr.* l. 12.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 95

tius his time *Iconium* belonged (s) to *Pisidia*; but was then so considerable, that it had an Amphitheatre and publick shews, which were not ordinarily exhibited but in the place where the chief Governour of the Province resided: And *Basil* (t) accounts it to *Pisidia*, and gives (u) some intimation of the rise of it into a Metropolis, *that anciently it was the second City*, i. e. after *Antioch*. But now it is become a Metropolis and presides over a part, which being made up of several pieces, makes up one Province. And that *Lycania* was then under it, the same (x) *Basil* intimates, and what else at this distance we cannot tell, since the Province belonging to it is said to be made up of several parcels. So that *Strabo's* calling it a little Town, does not conclude it to be so in after-times when it was made a *Metropolis*, nor lessen the Towns depending upon it. And this way of reasoning is as if one should observe, that in *Julian* the Apostate's time *Paris* is (y) call'd a little Town; therefore by this we may judg what pitiful Towns those of *France* are now, which are and have for a long time been subject to that royal City. Nor does it always happen, that the Metropolis is greater than all the Cities under her jurisdiction.

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Fort being the fittest receptacle for such a person, this could not be populous because of no large compass. This *Derbe* call'd a *Fort* by *Stephanus* out of some Ancient Author, is by *St. Luke* (b) call'd a *City* of *Lycaonia*. Nor does it diminish the place to be call'd a *Fort*, or *Tyrant's Seat*. For I have before observ'd, that the (c) word which our Author commonly translates by *Castle*, *Fort*, and sometimes childishly by *Country-Grange*, signifies any Fortified place, whether great or small, whether it be a *City* or a lesser *Town*. For in *Countries* expos'd to *War*, such places are for common refuge; and most of our old *Cities* bear still the names of *Castles*, to which they ow'd their rise and preservation; and for its being a *Tyrant's Seat*, that does by no means imply it to be a narrow place; for *Syracuse*, *Agri- gentum*, and several *Cities* of the largest size, might very properly pass under the very same title. *Hierocles* his *Notitia* (d) placeth it among the *Cities* of *Lycaonia*; and it is very probable, that it was one of the fourteen *Cities* of that *Tetrarchy* of which *Iconium* was the principal, mention'd by *Pliny* in the gross; but not named. *That this place could not be populous because of no compass*, our Author takes an extraordinary way of proving. *Polybius* talks of *Teichos* such a *Fort*, which was but a furlong and an half in compass. But how does our Author find it was such a *Fort*? did he survey or compare them, or

(b) *Acts* 14. 6.
Paulo. Geog. Sac.

(c) *pgs 210v.*

(d) *Ap. Car. a S.*

both any ancient Author mention the compass of *Derbe*? No: But both have one common Appellation. This way of reasoning is very dangerous, and will dis-people great Cities worse than the plague. *London* must not be populous, because *Ely* or *Rocheſter*, which are Cities too, have no great compass, and but few Inhabitants. Nor does our Author's Criticism, about the word *χαρίον* do him any great service for the diminishing of any Town call'd by that general name. For tho' it be sometimes distinguish'd from a City, yet are there instances of some of the greatest Cities that are call'd *χαρία*. For *Aquileia* was a City of the largest size; and yet *Procopius* (e) who was a master of propriety of speech, does not stick to call it *χαρίον*. For having represented it as a great and exceeding populous City, he adds, that *Attilas* was not able to take the place.

(f) *Lystra* seems a place no more considerable; it was a small place, call'd by *Ptolomy* *Aulira*; by *Strabo* *Isaura*; yet *St. Luke* calls it a City more than once. Nay, *Ptolomy* (g) places it among the Cities of *Isauria*, and distinguishes it from *Isaura*. *Florus* (h) names *Isaura* a-

(e) Μεγάλη καὶ ἀτίχως πολυάνθρωπος. — ἢ ἐδύνατο τὸ χαρίον λιβαν. *Procop. Bell. Vandal. l. i. p. 97. Ed. Hoeschel.*

(f) *Prim. Ep. p. 27.* (g) *Ptol. l. 5. Ἰσαυρία καὶ πέλιος Σαβάζτρα, Αἰσίρα; Ἰσαυρα.*

(h) *Validissimas Urbes eorum, Phaselin, Olympon evertit. Isaurumq; ipsam arcem Ciliciæ, unde conscius sibi magni laboris Isaurici cognomen adamavit. Flor. l. 3. c. 8.*

the City
 mong the Cities of *Cilicia*, and makes it the most considerable place of all those the Pirates held in those parts; and therefore *Servilius* who reduc'd those Robbers, took the name of *Isauricas* from it. *Pliny* (i) names *Isaura* among the Cities of *Cilicia*; and *Stephanus* (l) and *Diodorus Siculus* (m) style it a City of *Isauria*; and *Gregory* (n) the Great mentions the Bishop of *Isaura*. But *Strabo* (o) mentions two places of this name, and calls them both Villages. I will only add a few words that follow in that Author; and then let the Brethren of the Congregational way make what use they please of this instance. *Isauria*, saith *Strabo*, (p) has two Villages of its name, but a great many other Villages were subject to these. And if the civil subjection of so many Villages should draw after it an Ecclesiastical and Religious dependance, the Diocese of *Lystra* might be large enough. So that after all our Author's diligence to find or to make Villages for St. Paul's Bishops, he does not appear to have ordain'd any in such inconsiderable places, nor (q) left the practice warranted by Apostolical example and authority.

To proceed, (r) *Artemidorus*, says our Author giving an account of the Cities of *Pisidia*, reckons but eleven, whereas there are twenty two Bishopricks in the Catalogue of Leo. It is pity so great dili-

(i) *Oppida ejus intus Isaura, Olibanus, &c. Plin. l. 5. c. 27.* (l) *Steph. in Isaura, ἱσαυρίας πόλεις. 1σ.* (m) *Diod. Sic. l. 18.* (n) *Greg. Registr. l. 12. Ep. 2, 3.* (o) *Strab. l. 12.* (p) *ὑπάρχοντι δὲ ἡσάου τὰς πόλεις καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις αὐτῆς.* (q) *Prim. Ep. p. 28.* (r) *Prim. Ep. p. 28.*

Diocesan Episcopacy. 99

gence should have so little good fortune. In summing up those Cities, he has lost two, for *Artemidorus* (s) reckons thirteen. But to pass by small mistakes, let us consider the main consequence. In *Artemidorus* his time, (t) who liv'd in the 169th Olympiad, i. e. about a hundred years before the Birth of our Lord, the *Pisidians* had but thirteen Cities. In *Leo* the Wise his time, who began (u) to reign in the year of our Lord 886, *Pisidia* had 22 Bishops; therefore half of them could not have Cities, but Villages for their seats. This way of reasoning must be of that sort which we call eternal, for it has no regard at all to time; and a thousand years with such Reasoners go for nothing. *Antioch* it seems, the Metropolis of the Country, was not built when *Artemidorus* describ'd it; much less could *Adrianople*, and several others of later names, mention'd in the Civil and Ecclesiastical *Notitie*. But that it may appear, how much the number of Cities was increas'd in this Country before *Leo* the Wise; let us appeal to the civil *Notitia*, (x) that goes under the name of *Hierocles*, where we have 26 Cities under a Consular Governour. And if all of them remain'd to *Leo's* time; some Bishops of that Province must have two Cities under his care. So far is *Pisidia* from affording Village-Bishops.

(s) *Strab.* l. 12. (t) *Marcian. Heracl. Peripl.*
 (u) *Baron. An.* 886. (x) ἐπερώς Πισιδίας ὑπὸ Κωνσταντίνου πύλαις, apud Car. a S. Paulo.

After this, *Cappadocia* comes (y) under search for primitive Village-Bishops. *Strabo* divides *Cappadocia Taurica* into five *Præfectures*, three of which had no Cities, and yet there were many Bishopricks in them. It must be confess'd, that in *Strabo's* time, the *Præfectures* of *Melitene*, *Cataonia*, and *Isauritis*, had no City; but it is as certain, that then they had no Bishops. That Writer published (z) his Geography in the fourth year of *Tiberius*, eleven years before our Saviour's Baptism, and was then a very old man, as *Vossius* computes by his being acquainted with *Ælius Gallus*, and seems to be farther confirm'd from what he relates (a) of having seen *Servilius Isauricus*. But these Countries (saith our Author) had many Bishops afterwards, tho' they had no Cities. That they had Bishops cannot be denied; that they had no Cities then, our Author does not so much as pretend to prove, unless we admit his usual way of reasoning; that because these *Præfectures* had no Cities before the preaching of Christ, therefore they had none ever since. But there is sufficient evidence, that these Regions, *Melitene*, *Cataonia*, and *Isauritis* had Cities not long after *Strabo's* time. *Stephanus* (b) says, that *Melitene* was a City of *Cappadocia*: *Ptolemy* (c) places it among the Cities of the lesser *Armenia*, to which in the later distribution of the Empire it did belong; and two other are named as Cities belonging to that

(y) *Prim. Ep.* p. 28. (z) *Voss. de Hist. Græc.*

(a) *Strab.* l. 12. (b) *Πόλις Καππαδοκίας. Steph.*

(c) *Ptol.* l. 5.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 101

Præfecture. *Lucas Holstenius* (d) says, that the Romans built this City, and confirms it by *Salmasius*, (e) who calls it a City of *Capadocia*: And *Ammianus Marcellinus* (f) calls it a Town of the lesser *Armenia*, in more than one place; and the Bishop of this place is made one of the Standards of Catholic Communion by the edict of *Theodosius* (g) the great. And to conclude, the *Notitia* of *Hierocles* names it as the first City of *Armenia* the lesser. When *Justinian* (h) made a new distribution of *Armenia*, in that which he call'd the third, but he saith was before the second, i. e. the lesser *Armenia*, This City is made the *Metropolis*, and commended by the titles of *ancient* and *renown'd*; and he placeth (i) six Cities under it, which he there names, and adds, that there is no alteration as to this Province; but before his time it consisted of six Cities. All that is new in this Order, is the raising the dignity of its Title, and making it *Spectabilis*, and styling the Governour *Comes Justinianens*. *Eustathius* (j) gives the sum of this Edict; but the Copist has writ *Justin* for *Justinian*, in this and several other places. As for the Præfecture of

(d) Postea tamen Melitene extitit, urbs satis nobilis. H. Valef. in Euseb. l. 5. c. 5. Holsten. in Steph. (e) Salm. in Ful. Capitol. in vit. Marci, & Plin. exercit. p. 630. (f) Ammian. Marc. l. 19, & 20. (g) Cod. Theod. l. 3. de fide Cath. & Sez. l. 7. c. 9. (h) ἡς ὑπεῖται Μελατινὴ ἀρχαία πάλαι καὶ ἐπίσημος, Novel. 31. c. 1. (i) ὅς ἐστι πρῶτος ἐν τῇ πάλαι συστάσει. Ibid. (j) Eustath. in Dion. v. 694.

Cataonia, it had several known Cities in *Pto-*
lomy (m) the Geographer's time. *Cabassus*,
Cybisra, *Claudiopolis*, and several others less
 known, are placed in that Region, which we
 find in later *Notitia*, some belonging to *Cap-*
padocia, some to *Isauria*. And as for that part
 which was called *Isauritis* or *Isauria*, *Ptolomy*
 mentions three Cities there. *Ammianus Mar-*
cellinus (n) names two as principal Cities, *Se-*
leucia and *Claudiopolis*. But in *Hierocles* his *No-*
titia there are no less than 23. These bounds of
 Countries were frequently alter'd; and there-
 fore we find Cities sometimes ascrib'd to one,
 sometimes to another Province. Therefore
 these three Prefectures may be fairly dis-
 miss'd, having nothing to say for Village-
 Episcopacy; and though there had been Bi-
 shops there without Cities, their Dioceses
 might have been of no less extent than those
 where the Bishops had Cities for their seats.
 And 'tis hard to think, that three Provinces
 having no City, could not be capable of Dio-
 cesan Bishops.

(o) *In the other two Prefectures, there was*
Doara, which is a Village in Basil. That this
 place had an *Arian* Bishop in *Basil's* time, can-
 not be denied; and as may be conjectured, by
 comparing some passages (p) in *Basil* and *Gre-*
gory's Epistles, seem'd to have been erected by
 that faction in opposition to the Bishop of
Nyssa, to whom it seems to have been subject.

(m) *Ptol.* l. 5. (n) *L.* 14. c. 8. (o) *Prim. Ep.* p.
 38, & 29. (p) *Basil. Ep.* 10. & 39, 5. *Greg. Naz. Ep.*
 28, ad *Simplex*.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 103

And if in a matter so obscure it may be allowed to guess, this is the place of *Simplicia*, to whom *Gregory Nazianzen* writes, (for a woman and she an *Arian* commanded in *Doara*, and such was *Simplicia*) that when the *Arian* Bishops dy'd, *Basil* might ordain an Orthodox person to succeed there.

Now, for the first and second *Cappadocia*, we have a certain account of the number of their Bishops in the middle of the fifth Century. For in the Synodical Epistle (q) of the first, to *Leo* the Emperour, *Alypius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* says, that he had two Bishops in his Province; one he sent to the Emperour according to his Order, the other was sick. In the second *Cappadocia*, the Bishop of *Tyana* subscribes (r) with seven Suffragans, and speaks in the name of all the Bishops of that Province, which he says he call'd together upon that occasion; among these the Bishop of *Doara* subscribes. And though this place was but a Village, as there were some more in the same Province; yet I hope the Bishops had Dioceses large enough; since so great a Province was divided between so few; and of these scarce one half were primitive, but known to be erected in the fourth Century.

(s) *Basil* advises *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Iconium* to constitute Bishops for that Province in little Towns and Villages. The Province

(q) *Ep. Synod. Cappad. 1. ad Leon. in calce Conc. Chalced.*

(r) *Convocatis in unum Episcopis secundæ Cappadociæ, &c. Ep. Episc. 2dæ Capp. ad Leon. Imp.*

(s) *Ep. 406. Primit. Ep. p. 29.*

there recommended, is *Isauria*, which *Basil* more than once challengeth as belonging to him. By some accident not known, this Country became destitute of Bishops; it may be upon the recovery of those Churches from the *Arians*, for it was once over-spread with that Heresie; and the Council of *Seleucia* might contribute not a little towards it. This Province then being destitute of Bishops, *Basil* confers with *Amphilochius* about the best means of filling up the vacancies; and deliberates, whether it were more adviseable to ordain a *Metropolitan* only, and refer the rest to him; or else to ordain Bishops (†) in *lesser Cities* or *Villages* where there had been any before, That is, in such Cities as were less than the *Metropolis*, or in such as were rather to be styled Villages, yet might have large dependances. And the words in the Original (tho' otherwise render'd by the *Latin* Translator) seem to imply not little Cities or Villages, but districts of little Cities or Villages. The Bishops of these places were the Suffragans of *Seleucia*, which is called the *City* by way of eminence, being the *Metropolis*, and the rest called *little Cities* in comparison of this. So *Nazianzen* (u) calls the suffragan Cities of *Cappadocia*, *little Cities*, where they are mention'd with relation to their *Metropolis*. Nor were all these to have Bishops, but such as were Episcopal seats before. These are sometimes sty'd Cities, as it were of courtesie. Under that Title they pass in *Hierocles* his *Notitia*, and some of

(†) Τὰς μικροπολῖτας ὡς μικρονομίας.
Basil. Ep. 400. (u) *Greg. Naz. Carm. de vita sua,*
 p. 8. ὅσα πόλεις τὰς ἑσθὰς μικρὰς κατέρχονται.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 105

them in *Prology*. Sometimes they are called *Oppida*, as in *Ammian. Marcell.* and here expressed by Villages, yet the chieftest places in those parts of the Country. In the old *Notitia* so often cited, this Country has 29 Bishops; but of those Sees, several belong'd anciently to other Provinces. In the Synodical (x) Epistle of *Isauria* to *Leo* the Emperour, tho' by the names of the Cities it appears that this Province was enlarged, yet we find but seventeen Bishops.

(y) *Sasima* is *Angusta Villula* in *Nazianzen*, who was ordained Bishop there. It is true, that this was a Village, and made (z) an Episcopal See, upon the quarrel (a) between *Basil* and *Anthimus*. But it was not so from the beginning; for before *Gregory* it never had a Bishop, but belong'd to *Tyana*, from whence it was distant (b) about two and thirty miles. It was situate on the confines of both Dioceses; and being erected late, and upon a competition of Jurisdiction, makes but a sorry instance of primitive Congregational Episcopacy. For this Bishoprick is wholly owing to the contention of two Metropolitans; and *Gregory* (c) complains that *Basil* had done it without necessity, having no less than fifty *Chorepiscopi* (d) belonging to his great Diocese. The Country place of *Simplicia* seems to

(x) Omnes pariter congregati. Ep. Episc. *Isaur.* ad Leon.

(y) Prim. Ep. p. 29. (z) Τῇ Κελεύσει καὶ ἐπιτάξει. Naz. Carm. de vita sua.

(a) Μετὰ Χρυσὸν ἀντιπρόσωπον δὲ τῶν ἑνῶν. (b) From *Sasima* to *Andaluzis* 16. m. from *Andaluzis* to *Tyana*, 16 m. Anton.

linen. (c) Ἰὺ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἡ ἐκκλησία. (d) ἑξήκοντες ἢ ὅτι ἀντιπρόσωποι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δέδωκε.

(d) ἑξήκοντες ἢ ὅτι ἀντιπρόσωποι τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν δέδωκε. be

be no other than *Doara*, of which we have spoken before. *And for the other places which Basil made Bishops seats, and those Bishopricks were not a few; no body could ever find them out. And notwithstanding the expression of Nazianzen, of the Country having more Bishops by this contention, they could not be many, and perhaps no more than one. For in the subscriptions to the Synodical Epistles (e) of the two Cappadocia's to Leo, the first in which Caesarea was Metropolis, there were but two Suffragans; and the second under Tyana has but seven; and the Bishops of Sasima and Doara are among the subscribers. So two large Provinces had not after all these new erections, above eleven Bishops. But Gregory (f) applauds this multiplying of Bishopricks as an excellent art, souls being hereby better look'd after. He does indeed in the funeral oration of Basil, set this in the best light, as becomes a Panegyrick. But in his verses he is more blunt, and makes it unnecessary for one who had fifty Chorepiscopi, to make a Bishop of so poor a place as Sasima. And though (g) care of souls was the pretence, the true reason was love of prebeminence. The charitable reflection with which our Author concludes his range of Cappadocia, that others would have souls less regarded, and the Bishops honour more, becomes the temper of a Fanatick. A venomous beast may be in danger*

(e) *Ep. Synod. &c.* (f) *Prim. Ep. p. 30.* (g) *Naz. Epist. de vita sua, vide supra*

Diocesan Episcopacy. 107

from his own poison ; if he have no vent, rather than burst, let him discharge. For my part, I believe a Dissenter may be of kin to the *Cappadocian* in the Greek Epigram, whose blood poison'd a viper that happen'd to bite him.

(b) *In Pontus Polemoniacus, Pityus and Sebastopolis, were Bishops seats, and yet they were not Cities in Justinian's (i) account. That they were Bishops seats in Justinian's time, or some time after, does no where appear that I know. In the old Notitia (l) of the Patriarchat of C. P. it neither was a Bishop's See ; nor yet in the Notitia, said to be compil'd under Leo the wise. For in both these there are but five Bishops seats in that Province, according to the number of Cities mention'd in that Novel of Justinian. And before that, in the time of Leo the first, there were but four Bishopricks, as appears from the subscriptions to the Synodical letter to that Pope. Indeed there is a Bishop of Pitynsa among the subscriptions of the first Nicene Council ; but those subscriptions have little credit, being judg'd by learned men to belong to the second, and not the first Council of Nice.*

(m) *Coracesium is but a Castle in Strabo ; yet it had a Bishop in Leo Sophus his catalogue : And Thymbria is a Village in Strabo, and had a Bishop in the Council of Chalcedon. Amyzon,*

(b) *Prim. Ep. p. 30. (i) ἐν φρεσίσι μάλλον ἀείδων-
τίον ἢ πόλιν. Nov. 28. (l) Car. 2 S. Pau'o. (m) Prim.
Ep. p. 30.*

and

and Heraclea in Caria were no more than Castles in Strabo, and yet are Bishops seats in Miræus. Heraclea ad Lathmum, Ceramus and Bargesa, are called little Cities by Strabo (n) and were Bishops seats. I have already shew'd the weakness of such Allegations, from the great distance of time between Strabo and Leo Sophus, which was near 900 years, which may very fairly be allow'd to make great changes in the circumstances of these places. How many Villages are become Cities? How many Cities are sunk into Villages, or into places utterly desolate? Yet our Author will make no allowances, but all things must be taken in after-times, as they were in Strabo; and the being recorded in that Book, leaves an indelible character of a City or a Village. Some considerable Cities are said to be owing to the dreams of great men; but our humble Author can dream of nothing but Villages; and those which he finds to have been such before the beginning of Christianity, he is resolv'd, as far as the power of dreams will go, to keep under in the same low condition, lest they should become the possession of Diocesan Bishops. Yet after all, several of these places, as Amyzon and Heraclea, are said to be Cities by Strabo, (o) though not equal to the three which he calls the considerable; and Ptolomy names them both among the Cities of Asia; and both the Heraclea's mention'd by our

(n) πρὸς ἡγία, (o) L. 14. αἱ δὲ ἄλλαι (καὶ πλείους) αἱ ἐν Ἀμύζων καὶ Ἡράκλειᾳ.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 109

Author were in *Caria*, the one ad *Lathmum*, and the other in *Hierocles* his *Notitia* and the subscription of the Council of *Chalcedon*, writ with the addition of *Salbacia*, by *Ptolomy Albanum*, but restored by *Holstenius* (p) *Salmacis*. And there is indeed *Thymbria* a Village of *Caria*, mention'd by *Strabo*; (q) but whether this had a Bishop, or was under *Ephesus*, is a great question; it was four *Stadia's* from *Mynus*, which in *Strabo's* time was dispeopled, and added to *Miletus*, in whose room this may possibly arise. And *Coracesium* is nam'd by *Ptolomy*, l. 5. among the Maritime Cities of *Cilicia*.

(a) *Docimia* is a Village in *Strabo*, and a Bishop's seat, often mention'd in subscriptions of Councils. Our Author proceeds upon his own principle, not yet receiv'd in the world, that what was once a Village, must always remain so: And therefore makes no difficulty to argue from *Strabo* to the subscriptions of Councils in the fourth and fifth Century. Now, unknown to our Author, this Village of *Strabo* was grown into a City long before those subscriptions he speaks of. For *Stephanus* (b) calls it a City of *Phrygia*, and cites *Eudemus*, the same I guess, that is mention'd by *Suidas*, and is contemporary with *Julian* and *Libanius*. But before this time it was a City; for *Ptolomy* (c) who liv'd under *Marcus Aurelius*,

(p) *Holsten.* in *Steph. de Urb. in Σαλαμίς.*

(q) *Θυμβρία καὶ μὴ Κασέην.* l. 14.

(a) *Prim. Ep.* p. 30.

(b) *Δομυμίου πόλις Φρυγίας.* *Steph.*

(c) *Ptol.* l. 5.

places

placeth it among the Cities of the greater *Phrygia*; and there are Medails (d) of *Marcus Aurelius* and *Trajan* and of *Nero*, with the name of this City upon the reverse; which shew it to have out-grown the condition of a Village soon after *Strabo's* time. And if our Author had taken notice of the subscriptions of the Council of *Chalcedon*, (e) he had found it there a City; and one *Eustochius* styling himself Bishop of that City; and the same thing may be found in the Council of *Ephesus*. (f)

(g) *There is Nea a Castle in Suidas and Stephanus, and another in Pliny and Strabo, which is a Village. In the Council of Chalcedon there was a Bishop of Nea under Laodicea, and another under Ephesus. The Nea in Suidas and Stephanus, is no other than that mention'd by Strabo and Pliny; for these place it in Troas, the other in Mysia. Now this part of Troas was called anciently the lesser Mysia; and that Nation, as Pliny observes, was so considerable in the ancient times, that all the Country was call'd by their name Mysia; and Strabo makes it difficult to find the borders of the Mysians. Now, whether it were one or different Villages, it doth not appear that they had any Bishops from those subscriptions of the Council of Chalcedon. For the Nea of Strabo, (h) which was in Troas, between*

(d) *Holsten. in Steph. de urb. Doz. 11.* (e) *Conc. Chalc. Act. 3.* (f) *Eustasius Ep. Civitatis Docimi. Conc. Ephes.* (g) *Prim. Ep. p. 31.* (h) *Strab. l. 12.*

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Polychna and old *Scepsis*, could not be under either *Laodicea* or *Ephesus*, but must belong to the Bishop of *Cyzicus*; and the Bishop of *Scepsis* subscribes the first *Ephesine* Council as Suffragan of *Cyzicus*. *Pliny* is misreported in this place by *Mr. Clerkson*; for he no where says that *Nea* is a Village; but *Oppidum* (i) which is a word which he very frequently useth for Cities, and rarely for any other than considerable Towns. But to clear this matter beyond cavil, the *Nea* under *Laodicea* was not a Village but a City; which our Author might have seen in the subscriptions of *Chalcedon*. (l) Here *Nunnechius* subscribes for *Antiochus* Bishop of the City of *Nea*, and for the other under *Ephesus*, without the first letter. And though it be *Nea* in *Crabbe*, and some old Latin subscriptions, yet in the Greek (m) it is called *Anaea*; and *Zoticus* in that place subscribes as Bishop of the City of *Anaea*, called so from an *Amazon* of that name. It is mention'd by *Stephanus* and *Suidas*; (n) the later calls it a City, the other gives it no Title, but gives the situation of it, that it belonged to *Caria*, and was over-against *Samos*. So unfortunate is our Author in comparing Villages in *Strabo* with the subscriptions of Councils.

(o) *Pannonion*, he would have said *Pæmanium* or *Pamaninum*, is a Castle in the

(i) In *Nea oppido Troadis*, l. 2. c. 96. *Næ oppidum* l. 5 c. 30.

(l) Π'λας ν'ας, *Conc. Chal. Añ. 6.*

(m) *Conc. Chal. Añ. 6.* (n) Ἀναία π'λ'ας ἀντίστ' *Suid.*

(o) *Prim. Ep. p. 31.*

Territory of Cyzicus, says Stephanus; and there is a Bishop of that title under the Metropolitan of Cyzicus in Leo's Diatyposis. Stephanus (p) says, it is a City or a Fortress, and it is also a place belonging to Cyzicus. If it be the same place which our Author expresseth by so many names; the last must signifie the Region belonging to that Town or Castle. Pliny tells us, that the Pemanetij were a colony of Macedonians, and reckons them among the most considerable Towns of Hellespont; and for any thing that appears, it might be a City when it had a Bishop.

(q) There is a Bishop of Gordi under Sardis, and of Midei under Synnada in Phrygia; which are in Strabo, (r) the dwellings of Gordus and Midas, which in Strabo's time had no footsteps of Cities remaining, but were Villages a little greater than ordinary. Bishop of Gordi and Midei is such a form of Speech, as Bishop of Londini and St. Davidis. But to pass by small faults, I cannot but take notice, that our Author read with the wrong end of the Perspective, when he observeth it, for the diminution of these places, that they had been the dwellings of Midus and Gordus, that is, that they were royal Cities. But in Strabo's time they were little better than Villages. It may be so, and yet those Bishops might have good Cities for their seats, and large Dioceses

(p) Πόλις ἢ τῆς φρεσίας, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ χωρίον Κοζίκου.
 Steph. (q) *Prim. Ep.* p. 31. (r) Μίδου καὶ γόρδος
 δ. κ. 177:12. *Strab.* l. 12.

to govern. But the truth is, that *Gordus* which had a Bishop, and *Gordium* which was the seat of *Gordius*, and father of *Midas*, and was reduc'd to a Village in *Strabo's* time, are not the same place; though our Author according to his ordinary misfortune, has mistaken the one for the other. One was in *Phrygia* near the borders of *Cappadocia*; the other was in *Lydia*, and under the Metropolis of *Sardis*. This indeed had a Bishop, but was a City long before. For *Strabo* tells us, it was the place where *Cleo* the famous Robber was born, who of a Village made it a City, and call'd it *Juliopolis*, and is generally known by the name of *Julia Gordi*, or *Julia Gordus*; so it is in *Ptolomy*: (s) And *Pliny* (t) calls it *Gordia-Come*, and *Juliopolis*, i. e. by the old and new name. *Socrates* (u) mentions a Bishop of this place translated to *Praconesius*: And *Valesius* in his version calls him the Bishop of the City of *Gordus*. As for *Midenm*, though it was low in *Strabo's* time, yet afterwards it has the title of a City; for so it is in *Stephanus* and *Ptolomy*: And *Pliny* (x) places it among the most famous Cities of that Country, which were under the resort of *Synnada*. And *Holstenius* takes notice of a Medal of *Caracalla* with the name of this people on the reverse.

(s) *Ptolom.* l. 5. (t) Nunc sunt xv. Civitates, inter quas Gordia-come, quæ Juliopolis. *Plin.* l. 5. c. 32: (u) *Socr.* l. 7. c. 36. (x) Conveniunt Midæi, Julien-tes, &c. *Plin.* l. 5. c. 29. & l. 5. c. 32.

After having mistaken so many Cities for Villages, our Author is pleas'd most acutely to remark, that *there were Villages of several sizes then, as there are now.* Tom Coryat in all his Travels never could make such an observation, for want of learning it may be and study, as if reading were necessary to perfect impertinence. And Mr. Sorbieri tho' a *Virtuoso*, and descending to take notice of things very mean, has no reflection, that I can remember, so humble as this. But Criticks are not to be neglected, when they trifle; and therefore let us attend.

(y) *Some Villages were very little; such as Zonaras calls (z) Monæcia, scattered or alone houses, or such as those mentioned in the Constitutions of Izaac Commenus, which had but twenty or ten Chimneys.* The Council of Chalcedon, (a) to end some disputes that happen'd between Bishops about the bounds of their Diocesess, orders that such Country Parishes shall remain to him, in whose possession they had been for thirty years. Now because the Canon hath two words to express Country Parishes, Zonaras had a fancy, that they must be different in sense; and therefore takes one to signify such small places (b) as he calls *Monacia*, places remote from the Bishop's seat, and plac'd in the outmost skirts of his Diocese, and having few Inhabitants: The

(y) *Prim. Ep. p. 31.* (z) *Μονακία.* (a) *ἀποτομή*
ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἢ ἐκ τῆς κοινῆς. Can. 17. (b) *ἀγροικίαι*
ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κληρονομή.

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other. such (c) as are nearer Villages, and have more Inhabitants. How much this may be to the point of Village Episcopacy, let the Reader judge. That it describes a large Diocese that has Country parishes remote, and of uncertain resort, is I think so clear, that it would be unreasonable to require a clearer instance. However these places are so small, that our Author himself does not think it fit they should have Bishops.

Concerning the dimension of Villages, our Author proceeds, and observes, (d) that *there were some pretty big, as those of the Phocenses in Pausanias, which consisted of fifty houses.* This Country might have been the Holy Land of the Independents, if their better fortune had not restor'd them to their Cities again, before the rising of our Christian light. There might have been as much resort to *Phocis* upon the account of Village Episcopacy, as was heretofore to *Delphis* for Oracles. But as the case stands, it serves only as an occasion for our Author to shew his learning, and to make this great remark, that Villages consisting of fifty houses, are pretty big, though he is not pleas'd to resolve, whether they are yet big enough for a Bishop of his own way.

It is marvellous, that there should be (e) *some greater yet, such as Justinian (f) calls the*

(c) ἐν χωρίοις τὰς ἀγροὺς ἢ κώμας κειμένης. Zon.

(d) Prim. Ep. p. 31.

(e) Prim. Ep. p. 32.

(f) μάλιστα κώμας, Nov. 24.

greatest Villages. Who could have imagined that there had been in old times Villages so great as to exceed fifty houses, if the authority of *Justinian* had not been produc'd? Poor *Justinian*! After having built so many Cities, art thou to be alledg'd a poor witness for larger Villages than those of *Phocis*? No *Italian* Professor ever cited upon meaner occasions.

(f) *The Synod of Laodicea, which forbade the making of Bishops in some Villages, gives evidence, that in such places there were Bishops. This was the only Synod in the East, that prohibited Bishops to be made in Villages; — and indeed the prohibition was understood of lesser Villages.* (g) That there were Bishops in some Villages, no body I think ever denied: That every Village should have a Bishop, I think our Author does not desire. Those of twenty or fifty houses may be excused. What then is it he contends for? Is it that every Village of more than fifty houses may have a Bishop of its own? Let him have his fancy, I will not oppose. But then it is to be remembred, that the question is not, whether this may be done, or whether the Synod of *Laodicea* had forbid it; but whether it ought to be so of right, or was the practice of the primitive Church? Were there in *Egypt* but a hundred Cities and Villages that could furnish a decent Congregation, when their Bishops were no more? Or in other Provinces

(f) *Prim. Ep.* p. 32.

(g) *In villulis,*

where

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where the number of the Bishopricks are known, were there so few Villages of such a size? Or were they all reduc'd to the standard of *Phocis*, or *Zonaras* his *Monoccia*? It is a very poor, and begging way of reasoning, to urge, that primitive Bishops ought to have but one Congregation, because some Villages are not under the prohibition of the Canon of *Laodicea*. And in truth it had been very hard to deny all Villages the privilege of Bishops, since some Countries had no Cities; and therefore, if those Countries had any, they must be in Villages; but they were nevertheless Diocesan. In those Countries where there were Cities, Village-Bishops are very rare and unusual, especially in the first Centuries. But after the *Arians* had divided *Egypt*, *Marcotes* became an Episcopal seat; and when *Donatus* had distracted *Africk*, one old Bishoprick is torn into three or four: Not in compliance with ancient rule or practice; for it was not so much as pretended; but to serve the ends of parties. And therefore it was time for Synods to put a check to these Innovations and Irregularities, and to secure the peace of the Church by forbidding new erections, and by confining turbulent and enterprizing men within the bounds of ancient use.

Our Author does (b) wrong to *Zonaras*, when he quotes him for this observation, that it was not needful there should be great

(b) *Prim. Ep. P. 32.*

multitudes; but (i) *small Parishes*, and not very populous, might have Bishops. Whereas this Author useth those expressions of *small*, and not populous *Parishes*, where he speaks not of such as might have Bishops, but of those that were remote from the Bishops seat, and contested by two Bishops. However our Author observes, (l) that such little places were allowed Bishops, with the consent of him who had the chief seat; so he, i. e. Zonaras (m) on the 61. Canon of the Council of Carthage. It is true, that in that Canon two African Bishops say, they had heard of a decree, forbidding any Bishops to be made in Parishes, (n) without the consent of the Bishop to whom they belong'd; and that some in their Dioceses having been made Bishops by the consent of their Predecessors, were not content with the Parishes in which they were ordain'd, but invaded other parts of the Dioceses out of which their Bishopricks were taken. Whereupon it was ordain'd, that such new erected Bishops should be confin'd to that people for which they were ordain'd. Now these *Parishes* Zonaras calls (o) *small Territories*, or districts, which may consist not of one small Village, but of several; for both the word of the Canon, and that of the Commentator, may bear that sense. But after all, it is not to be

(i) μικραὶ παρεκκλῆσαι καὶ ἐν πολυπληθεῖσι. (l) *Prim.*
Ep. p. 32. (m) Zonar. in Can. 17. Chalced.

(n) ἐν παρεκκλῆσιν. (o) παρεκκλῆσιν ἢ τοὶ μικραὶ ἐνορίαι.
ἐν ἑα Territorium. Cyr. Philox. Gloss.

doubted,

doubted, that in *Africk* there were Bishops of small Territories, and seated in Villages; yet the same evidence that we have for these small Bishopricks, discover them to be new, and taken out of larger Dioceses; so that in older times even the Dioceses of that Country were large. Besides, the allowance of these erections was not from the fitness of the thing it self, much less from any Apostolick rule; but for reasons peculiar to that Country and those times. For the *Donatists* had so distracted the Church of that Country, that the Catholicks found themselves under a necessity of suffering many things, though contrary to the old practice of that Church, by way of temporary Oeconomy and Dispensation. And the same Canon makes farther proof, that even after these new Bishopricks permitted in Villages, the old ones from which they were taken, remain'd still Diocesan; and therefore takes care, that all the remaining Parishes or *Dioceses*, for both words are used, should belong to the first Bishop; and that only (p) *that one district or Parish taken out of many,* should belong to the new Bishop.

(q) For Europe and the more Eastern parts of it, he gives some instances jumbled together as it were in haste, and without marking the places where they are to be found. But these are like the rest, and if it were possible, less to the purpose. *Melanicus is a Castle in Ce-*

(p) *μία ἐκ τῶν σμικρῶν τῶν πρὸ τῶν ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν.*

(q) *Prim. Ep. p. 33.*

drenus, but was no Bishoprick either in primitive or ancient times. *Tzulum* is a Castle in Zonaras; but is not found to have had any Bishop before the seventh general Council, or the second *Nicene*, near eight hundred years after Christ. *Byzia* and *Macrontichos* are likewise Castles in *Amylius Probus*. These instances are too early, as the other are too late. *Alcibiades* indeed is said by that Author in his Life, to have built Castles in those places; but that they ever after remain'd Castles or Villages, no body has hitherto said. But these places happen'd to become Cities, without any notice given to our Author, though he might have found it, if he had consulted the book he sometimes quotes. *Biza* is call'd a City of *Thrace* by *Ptolomy*, (r) *Stephannus* (s) and *Suidas*, and is joyn'd with *Arcadiopolis* in the subscriptions of the Council of *Chalcedon*; those two Cities having immemorially belong'd to one Bishop, according to the Testimony given by the Bishops of that Country in the first *Ephesine* Council: And in the fifth general Council, this place was a Metropolis. So accurate is our Author in his account of his Episcopal Villages and Castles. The other was a City before it could well have a Bishop. For in *Pliny's* (t) time it was so accounted, and called *Bizantha*. *Diabolis*, another of our Author's Castles in *Nicephorus* he says, but tells us not which, nor where; for there

(r) *Ptol.* l. 3.
l. 4. c. 11.

(s) *Steph.* in *Bez.*

(t) *Plin.*

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are more writers than one of that name, is to be found in no ancient Author, and it therefore signifies little to the present purpose. And if there were a hundred more Bishops in Castles in *Europe*, there would be no danger to Diocesan Episcopacy; nor can I think, that any one of those Episcopal Forts could be brought to declare for the Congregational way. It was well for the Bishops of some Countries, that they had Castles in their Dioceses to retire to in the time of need. And Gregory (u) the Great directs his Bishops to remove from their Cities, into such places within their Dioceses as were fortified. If they had been Bishops of single Parishes in *Italy* at that time; this direction had not been very proper. Alalcomenæ, *no great Village of Bæotia* in Pausanias, is added to the Episcopal Villages; yet I do not find any Bishop of it in ancient times, although it be a City in *Stephanus*; who follows perhaps some ancients Author, who speaks of it in its first and more flourishing estate. And to conclude, we have *Cenchrea* put upon us for a Bishop's seat out of *Clemens* (x) his Constitutions, who speaking in the person of St. Paul, pretends to have made *Lucius* Bishop of that place. Such counterfeits as this when they once presume to personate the Apostles, care not where, nor whom they make Bishops. But the world is now grown too wise, to take Fable for History, and Forgery for ancient Records.

(u) *Greg. Reg.* l. 2. c. 12. (x) *Clem. Const.* l. 7. c. 48.

Our Author (y) seems to be displeased with the Council of *Sardica*, because *it was the only Synod in Europe for 600 years after Christ, that forbade the making of Bishops in small Towns and Villages.* Indeed there appears little reason from those parts in which the Synod was held, given for such a prohibition. For our Author could not find one Village-Bishop in those parts, within the six hundred years he speaks of; for his instances, and his Authors are but late, and improper vouchers of Antiquity. Learned men are of opinion, that the occasion of this Canon against making Bishops in Villages, proceeded not from *Europe*, but from *Egypt*, and that the Bishops had the case of *Ischyra* in their view, when they made this order. The *Arians* had begun a foul practice in *Athanasius* his Diocese, taking away a part from it, and erecting it into a new Bishoprick; and perhaps this was not the only instance. Wherefore the good Bishops in *Sardica* thought they had reason and authority sufficient to oppose such ill-intended Innovations, that tended to overthrow all that had been settled of old time, and to introduce endless confusion and dispute. If our Author has a dislike to all things that tend to secure old Establishment; he was in the true spirit of his party, which is too active to endure any settled and perpetual order. But our Author is half-reconcil'd to this Synod, and doubts whether *this can be counted a Prohibition*; because *in the*

(u) *Prim. Ep.* p. 34.

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Latin, which is the Original, the restraint is laid upon foreign Bishops, that they shall not erect such Bishopricks in another Province. Because our Author endeavours to raise a mist here about a very plain matter; it may not be amiss to lay down the sum of that Canon, (2) and to rescue it from cavil. The Bishops assembled at Sardica thought fit to order, that if in a Province which had several Bishops, there should happen to be left but one, (which cannot be supposed, if such Bishops were but as Rectors of our Parishes) and that sole remaining Bishop should refuse to ordain others, such as the people should desire; that then the people might apply themselves to the Bishops of the next Province. And then it follows, (a) that it shall be by no means lawful to ordain any Bishops in Villages or small Cities, that the dignity of a Bishop may not grow contemptible from the meaness of the place. Our Author then would have it, that only Extra-provincial Bishops are concern'd in this prohibition. But why, is it because the dignity of a Bishop is less contemptible from a Village when strangers place him there, then when those of his Province do it? The reason then of this prohibition is from the place and not the Ordainers; altho' it might be more necessary to apply it to Foreigners than Provincials, who would take greater care to preserve ancient bounds. So that if this be not an absolute Prohibition, it

(2) *Can. Sard. 6. Gr. 5, & 6. Lat. ἐπιλόγως, Licentia non est danda. Vers. Vet.*

(a) *μὴ ἐξ ἐστῶτος*

will be hard to know what is. The reason is general, and holds alike, whoever may be the Ordainers. But (b) *they except such places where there had been Bishops already, and forbid it to none for the future, but such for which one Presbyter is sufficient; and so there is room enough for Bishops in large and populous Villages.* What our Author mincingly calls places where there had been Bishops already, the Canon both in the Greek and Latin Edition, calls Cities; and when he says there is room left by this Canon for Bishops in populous Villages, he knew the contrary to be true. For the Canon (c) mentions only the case of a City; *if a City shall be found very populous and worthy of a Bishop, let it have one.* So that this Synod neither leaves room for Bishops in any Villages, nor signifies that it was usual before this to have Bishops in small places, unless such places were Cities. What our Author has in his margin, *that this Synod decreed, that where there were twelve families, there was to be a Rector,* is a mistake; (d) for in this Synod there was no such Decree.

(e) *In Creet they tell us more than once, that there were a hundred Bishops; yet Pliny and Ptolemy found but forty Cities there. So that the far greatest part of Titus's Suffragans must have their Thrones in Country-Villages.* He seemeth to take it for granted on all hands, that Crete had indeed an hundred Bishops in Titus's time. On the

(b) *Prim. Ep. p. 34, 35.* (c) *ἔτι δὲ ἐνεῖσται τοῖς πλεθύνουσι πρὸς ἐν πολλῷ ἀεισμοῦ λαὸς πόλεις.* Si qua talis aut tam populosa civitas.
 (d) *Vid. Græb. T. 1. p. 331.*
 (e) *Prim. Ep. p. 35.*

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contrary I know some (f) who make *Titus* the sole Bishop of the Island, and conceive the Churches of that place governed by Presbyters under that one Bishop. This is indeed contradicted by several ancient Writers. And some (g) say expressly, that the Apostle would not commit so great an Island to one man. *Eusebius* (h) seems to favour Mr. *Thorndike's* opinion, and makes *Titus* Bishop of the Churches of *Crete*. In the third Century we find two Bishops of this Island mentioned, and each said (i) to be a Bishop of Churches. There might be many more, though they are no where mention'd. But in *Leo* the first's Reign, there seem to have been no more than eight; for so many subscribe the Synodical Epistle (l) of that Island. In an old *Notitia* of the Patriarchat of *C. P. Crete* has one and twenty Bishops; and in *Hierocles* his civil *Notitia*, this Island has twenty three. In the *Notitia* of *Nilus Doxopatrius*, (m) *Crete* has ten Bishops. This Island according to *Pliny* l. 4. c. 12. was 270 miles in length, and fifty in breadth; and therefore the Dioceses one with another must be competent, when the Bishops were most numerous; and very large in old time, when they were but few.

(f) *Thorndike* Prim. Govern. c. 4. (g) *Cbrysoft.*
Oecum. Theophil. Theodoret. (h) *H. E.* l. 3. c. 4. Τὸς
 τῶν Κρήτης ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπίσκοπος. (i) *Ego* & confacerdotes
 mei. (l) *Epistola*. Synod. ad *Leon.* Imp. apud *Car. a S.*
Paulo. Not. Ant. (m) *Leo Allat.* de consens. *Ecc.*
Orient. Ec. l. 1. c. 24. *Simon Hist. Crit. de Levant.* &
Moine Adv. Sacra.

We are at last come to *Italy*; and one would scarce imagine, that any thing very Primitive should be found there, and especially in the Pope's own Province. Here our Author observes, (*n*) that *every petit Town has a Bishop*; and he cannot discover, that there are more Bishops now than of old; nay in that, call'd in special the Roman Province, there are now fewer by many than anciently, as Miræus tells us is evident, by comparing the old Provincial Code with the new, l. 4. p. 160. This Roman Province, of which our Author has taken upon him to speak, without understanding the matter, consists now of such Churches as were under the Bishop of Rome's immediate Jurisdiction, a great part of which were in the Country that lay next to Rome; but many are remote, and situated in other Provinces. Now these Churches our Author observes are now fewer than anciently. If he speaks of all those under the peculiar Jurisdiction of the Pope, it is a mistake; for they are now more numerous than heretofore. But if he mean only those Bishopricks that lie near Rome, in the next adjoining Provinces, of those there are fewer indeed belonging to the Pope, than did formerly; not because the Bishopricks were sunk, but many of them were made Arch-bishopricks, and others thrown under another Jurisdiction.

Florence, which was in the old Roman Province, was made (*o*) an Arch-Episcopal See,

(*n*) Prim. ep. p. 36. (*o*) Anno. 1421.

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by *Martin* the fifth, and had four suburbicary Bishopricks given to it for Suffragans; besides as many more of newer erection. *Siena*, belonging to *Rome* anciently, was made (p) an Arch-Bishoprick by *Pius II.* and had *Grosseto* and *Soano* for two of its Suffragans, which also belong'd to the Roman Province. *Urbis* was made (p) an Arch-Bishoprick but in the last Century by *Paul* the third, and had six Bishopricks out of the Roman Province annexed to it. *Fermo* was made an Arch-Bishoprick by *Sixtus* the fifth, and had five Suffragans given it, all of new Erection. So that in the two ages next preceding this, within the Roman Province there were ten new Bishopricks made, and fifteen taken from the immediate Jurisdiction of the Pope, and subjected to new Arch-Bishopricks. So that the Bishopricks remain, tho' they are not in the same Province. There were indeed about five old Bishopricks united to others in the Roman Province since the writing of the old Provincial; but we have seen ten new rais'd to make amends; and there are more yet unaccounted for; if there were occasion.

But after all it signifies little to the present question, whether the Roman Province at this time have fewer Bishops, than it had when that old Provincial was made. For that which our Author calls old, is indeed but new in respect of Ecclesiastical Antiquity. *Baronius* places it in the eleventh Century, and that is

(p) *Anno* 1459. (q) *Ughell. Ital. Sacr. & Miræi. Not.* 14.
at

at least an age too high; for there are several Bishopricks even in the oldest Copies of it, that were not rais'd till the twelfth Century. *Viterbo* was not made an Episcopal seat till the latter end (r) of that age; and yet it is in all the Copies of that Provincial; and *Italy* affords many instances of Bishopricks rais'd in that age, which are all to be found there. In *England* it has *Ely* and *Carlisle*, both made (s) Episcopal seats in that Century; and in *Ireland* it has the four Arch-Bishopricks, which were not erected till the middle (t) of that Century. In this all the printed Copies, and six Manuscripts of the *Lambeth* and *Cotton Library* do agree. But for later Bishopricks there is a difference between the Copies, the later receiving these into the list, which in the other are not to be found. The first printed Copy came (u) out in 1503. and that had a mixture of new and old Bishopricks. *Miræus* pretended to publish the old Provincial more exactly; but either his Copy was not very old, or he did not publish it as he found it; for his Edition has many Bishopricks of the thirteenth and fourteenth Centuries. For in that, among the Bishopricks of the Roman Province *Aquila* is represented as united to *Furconium*; whereas *Aquila* was (x) not made a Bishop's seat till the year 1257. Nor can it properly be said to be united, since

(r) *Anno* 1189, or 1191. (s) *Anno* 1109, & 1133.
 (t) *An.* 1151. *Matth. Par.* in *Steph. Rege, & Chron. Norman.* p. 686. (u) *Labbe Geogr. eccl.* in *fine Concil.*
 (*) *Ughell. Ital. Sac. T. 1.*

it was before in the Diocese of *Furconium*. *Montefiascone* is nam'd there; but was not made a Bishoprick till the year 1376. *Cortona* is there, which was not erected till the year 1322. And *Mons Cassini* erected in the year 1322, is exhibited in the same Edition. Now *Miræus* (y) because he did not find the Arch-Bishoprick of *Florence* and other erections of the fifteenth Century, took his Copy to be ancient, when it had so many instances of the Bishopricks of the age preceding. Nor did he print any one Copy, but jumble several of different ages together. So that in the Catalogue which he calls old, you have several Bishopricks that never subsisted together; for he has *Auxima* in the Roman Province; and at some distance after there is *Reccana*. Whereas (z) the one was rais'd upon the suppression of the other, in the year 1240. Since *Miræus*, *Carolus a S. Paulo* published (a) two Copies of this Provincial, one from the French King's, and the other from *Thuanus* his Library; but both younger than the eleventh Century.

Now to return to our Author's observation, that there are more Bishopricks in the Roman Province, in the old Provincial, than in the new; we have shewn the contrary, if we take that Province for the extent of a Country represented in the old Provincial. For there are above twenty more in the new; but ma-

(y) *Mir. Præf. ante Cod. Prov. p. 64.* (z) *Ughell. Ital. Sacr. T. 1.* (a) *Geogr. Sacr. inter Notit.*

ny of them have left their old relation, and are now under other Metropolitans; and many more have been new erected, than have been sunk. But since the oldest of these Provincials is no older than the twelfth Century; it will signifie little to the point our Author had undertaken to prove, if it should be granted that the Bishopricks of the Roman Province were once more numerous than they are now. For the state of the *Italian* Diocesess about the year 1200. will afford but a poor argument for the extent of the primitive Bishopricks of that Country. The face of Ecclesiastical affairs here in the first three or six hundred years after Christ, might be very different from what it was at the end of the succeeding Centuries; and in particular, the Roman Province could not but receive a great change from the civil Revolutions of that Country. Now he who from the state of the *Italian* Churches five hundred years ago, will presume to represent Primitive Order and Apostolical Institutions, will quickly fall into mistakes, not only very absurd, but dangerous to the Reformation. The Papists would gladly venture all their Controversies upon this issue; and there would remain but little of Popery that would not be found primitive, if the eleventh and twelfth Centuries might prescribe, and the practice of those ages be received as evidence of immemorial Custom.

Our Author (*b*) is pleased to tell us in gene-

(*b*) *Prim. Ep.* p 55.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 131

ral for Italy, I cannot discover that there are more Bishops now there than of old. — And in all the new Erections that I can find, discounting those which are upon old foundations, amount not to the number of those which are either dissolv'd or united. It is not casie to discover such matters as these without search, which he did not think fit to make; for if he had pleas'd to examine, he could not but have found, that the Bishopricks of Italy are much more numerous now, than they were four or five ages ago. In the Kingdom of Naples, where the Diocesess are many and little, we may find this by comparing their present number with what they had in foregoing ages. There are now (c) in that Kingdom 20 Arch-Bishopricks and 127 Bishops, though within half an age before they had not so many; as may appear from the account of *Thomaso Costo*, and *Mireus* out of *Marinus Freccia*; and *Prosper Augustinus* reckons of Arch-bishops and Bishops but 134. But if we compare the present number with what the old Copies of the Provincial represent, we shall find yet greater difference; of these the later have the greatest number, and the older they are, the fewer Diocesess they have. The latest I have seen, which was writ in *Clemens* the sixth's time, who was made Pope Anno 1342. has no more Neapolitan Bishopricks and Arch-Bishopricks, than 132. In an old Manuscript of the *Lambeth* Library, there are in that Kingdom but

(c) Pierre d' Avity. Royaume de Naples. Luc. de Londa, p. 542. Annot. all. Istor. de Napole.

123 Arch-Bishops and Bishops. In another, which is the oldest I have seen, there are but 116. So that within the compass of four or five hundred years, above thirty new Sees have been raised in that Kingdom. The *Dissolutions*, or *Unions* of which our Author speaks, can be no exception to this account, in which the total Sums are compar'd.

As to the small Dioceses of the Kingdom of *Naples*, they are so far from being Primitive, that most of them were erected since the tenth Century. *Campana* a small Town, has no Diocese beyond the walls; yet was it not made a Bishoprick till (d) the year 1525. *Vesta* has no Diocese belonging to it, but is no older than *Pascal* 2d. and was rais'd (e) in the year 1110. *Cava* had not five hundred Communicants belonging to it; but was no Bishoprick till the year 1394. And the small Bishopricks that belong to *Beneventum*, were not made till that was rais'd to an Arch-Bishoprick, which was in the tenth Century. And the same is observ'd by *Ughellus* (e) of many Bishopricks under *Brundisium*, *Amalphi*, and several other new Metropolitans in the South of *Italy*.

Another cause of multiplying Bishops in that part of *Italy*, might proceed from the difference between the *Greeks* and *Latins* in the ninth and tenth Centuries, and the competition of Jurisdiction between the Bishops of *Rome*

(d) *Ughell. Ital. Sacr.* T. 7.

(e) *Id.* T. 8, & 9.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 133

and *Constantinople*. *Luitprandus* (f) relates, that *Nicephorus Phocas* ordered *Polyeetius* Patriarch of *Constantinople* to raise *Otranto* to the dignity of an Arch-Bishoprick, and that he would not permit the Latin service to be any longer us'd in *Appulia* and *Calabria*. Whereupon the Patriarch sent the Bishop of *Otranto* a privilege to consecrate Bishops in six Towns of that Country, which are there named, and are said to belong to the Bishop of *Rome*. When the Western Emperours, and at last the *Normans*, got footing in the Greek Territories; the Greeks were soon shut up in their Towns. And thence it seems to come to pass, that several Episcopal Towns there have no Diocese or Territory at all. Not that it was always so while the Country was in the hands of the Greek Emperours; but because this was the expiring condition of the Greek Churches in those parts, the open Country being in possession of their Enemies, and thrown into the neighbouring Latin Dioceses. But Bishopricks were much thinner in *Calabria* an age or two before. For in the *Notitia* publish'd by *Goar*, (g) and afterwards by *Dr. Beveridge*, (h) *Calabria* has but eight Bishops.

In the North of *Italy* the Dioceses are still large, but have been much greater in ancient times. For the Province of *Milan*, though it was much larger than it is now, in the middle

(f) *Luitpr. Leg. ad Niceph. Phoc.* in Acerentilas, Acherunte, Turrigo, Gravina, Maceria, & Tricarico.

(g) *Hist. Byz. ad calc. Codini.*

(h) *Synodic. T. 2.*

(i) of the fifth Century had but nineteen Suffragans; as appears from the subscriptions (l) of the Synod of that Province under *Eusebius* Bishop of *Milan*. Among these is the Bishop of *Regium* and *Brixellum*, and *Placentia*, which belonged afterwards to *Ravenna*, and are now under the new (m) Metropolis of *Bologna*. The Bishop of *Turin* was then a Suffragan, but is since made a Metropolitan by *Sixtus* IV. and borrowed some Suffragans from the old Province. *Augusta*, now *Aosta*, was then a Suffragan of *Milan*, but now belongs to *Tarentaise*. *Genua* was then a Suffragan, but is since (n) a Metropolis, and took away *Albini-gaumum* along with it; and *Como* that then belong'd to the Synod of *Milan*, is now under *Aquileia*; besides many new Bishopricks raised within this Province, and taken out of the old Dioceses: As *Alexandria de Capaglia* raised (o) by *Alexander* the III. And *Cazale* raised (p) by *Sixtus* the fourth, who gave it sixty Castles or Burgs taken from the Jurisdiction of *Aste* and *Vercelli*; yet *Vercelli* after this diminution has (q) a very large Diocese remaining; for it is forty miles in length, and thirty-five in breadth.

In the Province of *Aquileia* there were but fifteen Bishopricks in the time of *Gregory* the Great, when the controverſie of the three points was ſo hot in *Iſtria*; and they are all

(i) Anno 452. (l) Inter opera Leonis Pap. Ep. 52.
 (m) Bologna Erected. 1583. (n) Anno 1132. (o) Anno
 1175. (p) Anno 1474. (q) Ughel, Ital. Sac. T. 4.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 135

nam'd by *Paulus Diaconus*. (r) Many of the old Sees are still remaining, several are chang'd; but the number is still the same, and the Dioceses are large.

To conclude, the ancient Dioceses of *Italy* were large, and not half so numerous as they are now. For they have been increasing every age since the writing of the Provincial; and even then they were exceedingly multiplied beyond what they had been in the first six or seven Centuries. There are now in *Italy* 31 Arch-Bishops, and 281 Bishops, which makes up 312. Now if we look back but two ages, we shall find the number much less; for in *Biondi's* time who died in the year 1463, there were but 264 Cities or Episcopal seats in all *Italy*. And *Leandro Alberti* (s) who liv'd in the beginning of the fifteenth Century, could not make out above 300. And since that time it seems there were twelve added. The more ancient Copies of the Provincial fall short of *Biondi's* reckoning, some having but 250, and the oldest of all not above 200. So much is the number of the *Italian* Bishopricks increased within five hundred years.

But if we go a little back, we shall find yet fewer Bishopricks in *Italy*. For in the *Notitia* publish'd by Dr. *Beveridge* (t) out of the *Oxford* Copy, there are in all but fourscore Episcopal Sees. *Carolus a S. Paulo* Bishop of

(r) Paul. Diac. de Gest. Long. l. 3. c. 12. l. 18. Cont. Eutrop. int. Rom. Script. (s) Leand. Alberti Descript. d' Ital. Præfat. (t) Notæ in Synodic.

Aurenches (u) had suppress'd this part in his edition, giving notice that every thing was so corrupt and confused, that he could make nothing of it. He is tax'd by Dr. *Beveridge*, as if this omission had proceeded from want of sincerity. But whatever cause that French Bishop had to leave out this part, yet the *Notitia* had been published (x) entire twenty years before the Dr's Edition, and much more correctly; for the *Oxford* Copy, having fallen into the hands of a raw Transcriber, came out with many more faults than its own. In this *Notitia* the *Suburbicary Province* has but two and twenty Bishops; *Campania* just so many; *Annonaria* under *Ravenna* has one more than those; and *Amylia* has only three. The Provinces of *Milan* and *Aquileia* are wholly left out. It cannot be denied, that this *Notitia* is imperfect and very confused; and *Salmasius* (y) who had seen it before *Goar's* Edition, gives that account of it. And therefore let us examine yet ancienter Records, to come to a more certain computation of the old *Italian* Bishopricks.

In a *Roman* Council (z) under Pope *Agatho* we have the subscriptions of the *Italian* Bishops by their Provinces; and we may judge by the subscriptions of such Provinces as are best known, as to the number of their old Dioceses, such as *Milan* and *Aquileia*, that this

(x) *Goar. ad Codin. Int. Hist. Byz. Anno 1644.* (y) *Salmas. Prim. Pap.* (z) *Conc. Rom. sub. Agath. Anno 689. apud Conc. Gen 6. Act. 4.*

Diocesan Episcopacy. 137

was a plenary Synod, and all the Bishops of *Italy* present in it, but such as age or necessity did excuse: And the Pope calls (a) it the *Generality of the Synod*; yet all the *Italian* Bishops here were but about an hundred and twelve.

The first Roman Synod (a) under *Symmachus* was of the Roman Province properly so called. For no Metropolitan subscribed besides *Symmachus*, nor any Bishop of any known *Italick* Province; no Suffragan of *Milan*, *Aquileia* or *Ravenna*. In this there were 72 Bishops, whose names and titles remain. These subscriptions do sufficiently shew, that the Roman Province at that time was much wider than the Jurisdiction of the City Prefect, and reach'd a great way farther than a hundred miles from *Rome*. For there were most of the Bishops of *Campania Felix*, which was all of it beyond the *Lapis Centesimus*, as *Salmasius* (b) does allow. Beyond this yet there was the Bishop of *Acheruntia* in *Calabria*, of *Vibon* in *Brutia*, of *Canusium* in *Apulia*; and on the other side of *Rome* there was the Bishop of *Ariminum*, and several others, whose seats were far beyond the Provinces assigned by *Salmasius* to the Roman Diocese. A general Synod (c) of *Italy* under the same Pope had 115 Bishops, which is the only Synod besides that mentioned above, that the Writer of his life takes notice of under that Pope; (d) but certainly the most remark-

(a) Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὅτι τῶν πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ κέντρου.

(a) *Conc. Rem. 1. sub. Sym. Anno 499.* (b) *Salm. Ep. de Reg. Suburb.*
 F. 64. (c) *Anastas. in Symmach.* (d) *Syn. Rem. 4. sub. Sym.*

able for number of any then held. It was this confirm'd *Symmachus* his Election, and condemn'd his Competitor and his Guardians; and the occasion being extraordinary, it cannot be doubted, but the greatest part (e) of the Bishops of *Italy* were there. And though the subscriptions be imperfect; yet from those that are left, we may find that there were some from every Province. The greatest objection it seems, which the Enemies of this Synod could make against it, was (f) that *all the old and infirm Bishops were not there*; and then that all were not call'd by the King's Writ, attending to two or three only who were too far engaged in the cause to become Judges of it; which *Ennodius* exposes rather as Cavils than Arguments: Which he could not have done with any sincerity or modesty, if much the greater part had not been assembled upon that occasion. There is indeed a Synod (g) under this Pope, whose Title bespeaks 218 Bishops; but there might have been as many more, if borrowed subscriptions might pass muster; this is the case. For more than half the subscriptions of this Council are taken from that of *Chalcedon*, and there are not a hundred of *Italy*; the rest were discharged from the Synodical attendance, and now no longer able to answer to their Names.

(e) *Totius fere Italix Episcopi, Ennod. Ticin. 2. Synod. Defensor.*

(f) *Testis est Roma, si omnes Episcopi senes & debiles convenerunt. Ennod.*

(g) *Synod. 5. sub Symmacho.*

Diocesan Episcopacy. 139

Under *Damasus* we have another general Council (*b*) of *Italy*, consisting of 93 Bishops, in which *Auxentius* was deposed. But besides *Italians*, there were some *Gallick* Bishops in this Council; and it cannot be doubted, but *Damasus* assembled all he could, in a cause that required the authority of the greatest number he could make, since the *Arians* had for some time began to plead a majority. And it is certain some came from far; for the Bishop of *Aquileia* was there.

Under *Julius* the first, we have a Roman Synod, (*i*) that seems to be general; in which above fifty Bishops were assembled, where *Vito* presided as the Bishop of *Rome's* Deputy. This seems to be the same *Vito*, who was sent Legat to the Council of *Nice*. Here *Athanasius* was received into Communion. And *Julius* (*l*) in his Letter to the Bishops of the East, alluding to this Synod, tells them, that what he writ as in his own name, was the judgment of all *Italy*. *Valesius* would not have *Vito* preside in this Council; but would render the words so, that those Bishops assembled in *Vito's* Parish-Church. But I do not see any reason to depart from *Nannius* his Translation of this passage. The Copy that he translated is very different from the Greek that is printed, and may possibly have a relative which may

(*b*) *Conc. Rom. sub Dam. Anno 369. Theod. H. E. l. 2. c. 22. Collect. Rom. Holsten. p. 163. Vales. Annot. in Seq. l. 6. c. 23.*

(*i*) *Julii Epistola apud Athan. Ap. 2.*

(*l*) *ἐν τῇ μέντοι ἑκείνῃ, ἀλλ' ἐκ ἐμῶν μόνος ἡ γνώμη, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν.*

take away the ambiguity of that Expression. I have seen some Greek pieces of *Athanasius* in Manuscript, varying often from the printed Copy, but exactly answering *Nannius* his version in all those variations; which I have mention'd here upon this occasion, that the frequent variations of that Version from the Original may not be thought to proceed from affectation of liberty or mistake. To return then to the purpose for which this passage was produc'd, if the judgment of between fifty and sixty Bishops be represented as the sentence of all the Bishops of *Italy*; surely in those days their number must be very much short of what they are at present.

I will conclude this Disquisition concerning the Bishopricks of *Italy* with the Roman Synod (m) under *Cornelius*; which by *Eusebius* (n) is called a very great Synod; and by *Cyprian* (o) said to consist of very many Bishops. They were in all sixty; which could never have been observ'd as a very great Synod, if every good Village or Town in *Italy*, where there were some thousands of such, had been provided of a Bishop. But whether this were a Synod of the Province of *Rome* only, or of all *Italy*, is a question about which learned men are divided. The words of *Eusebius* are ambiguous and not easie to be determined. For he says, that

(m) Anno 251.

ἡσὺς ἐπὶ Ρώμης συγκροτηθεὶς ἐξήκοστά μὲν τῶν ἀειμένων ἐπισκόπων.

Ep. 55. Ed. Ox.

(n) Euseb. l. 6, c. 43. συνέδριον

ἐκόντων μὲν τῶν ἀειμένων ἐπισκόπων.

(o) Cornelius cum plurimis Episc. Cyp.

Diocesan Episcopacy. 141

Cornelius sent Letters to *Fabian* Bishop of *Antioch*, giving (p) an account of the Synod at *Rome*, and the judgment of all in *Italy* and *Africk*. *St. Jerom* speaking of these Letters of *Cornelius* says, (q) that he wrote about the *Roman*, the *Italick*, and *African* Synods; as if besides that of *Rome*, there had been another at the same time in some other place of *Italy*. Now if *Jerom* had seen no more of *Cornelius* his Epistles than what *Eusebius* has excerpted, this of the *Italick* Synod may be a mistake. Bishop *Pearson* (r) has demurr'd upon this matter, and the Conclusion of that Chapter in *Eusebius* seems to make all clear. At the end of his Letter he sets down the names of those who were present in the *Roman* Synod, and their *Dioceses*; and he sent likewise the names of the persons (s) and of their places, who came not to this Synod, but signified their consent by Letters, to what was there determined. Here is no place left then to an *Italick* Synod; for by this account all who were not at *Rome*, consented by their Letters. And that much the greater part of the Bishops of *Italy* appear'd in this Synod, cannot well be doubted, considering this assembly was for common direction in a case very difficult and nice; and so nearly con-

(p) Διέσται τὰ πρὸς τῆς Ῥωμαίων συνόδου καὶ τὰ δόξαντα πρὸς τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, &c.

(q) De Synodo Romana Italica & Hieron. de Script. Eccles. in Cornel. (r) Fo. Cestrensi. Annal. Cppr. p. 31.

(s) τῶν τε μὴ παρευρισμένων καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ῥώμης, οὐκ ὄντων δὲ διὰ γραμμάτων τῇ τῶν προεσμενῶν ψήφῳ, &c.

cerning

cerning the peace of the Church. And he who observes it as an extraordinary thing, that out of all *Italy* sixty Bishops should be assembled in one Synod, could not but have taken notice of the number of the rest, who approved the acts of this Council by their Letters, if it had been any thing proportionable to this. Therefore we have reason to conclude, that at that time there were not very many more Bishops in all *Italy*. I know it is suggested by some, that there were then but few Bishops because Christianity was not much advanced, and their Churches were but few; but the contrary is affirmed of this very time by Writers who lived then. And *Cyprian* does expressly say, (†) that *Bishops had long before this been settled in all the Provinces and in every City*. And how extraordinary this Synod must be esteemed at that time, may be observed from another passage of the same Epistle; where it is remark'd as no inconsiderable thing, that sixteen or seventeen Bishops were present at the Consecration of *Cornelius*. A poor business to be taken notice of, if the Roman Province had then been so well stocked with Bishops as it is now.

And now we are taking our leave of *Italy*, let us look back, and from what has been observ'd, make this General Conclusion, that the number of Bishops has been increasing there in every age ever since the Pri-

(†) Jampridem per omnes Provincias & per Urbes singulas ordinati sunt Episcopi. *Cyp. Ep. 55.*

Diocesan Episcopacy. 143

mitive times; excepting times of extraordinary desolation. And what *Ughellus* observes of *Clusium* and some other Bishopricks, is true of most of them, that from one large Diocese it was crumbl'd into many small ones. *This City*, says he, (u) *in old time was possessed of a very large Diocese, which the Popes by degrees have dissipated, and convey'd to other Cathedrals which they erected.* Nay some after the lopping off of several Branches still remain considerable, as the same Author observes (x) of *Asculum*. *The Diocese that now remains, though much diminish'd by the Erections of new Cathedrals, is not very small; for after all this it has retain'd 156 Parish Churches.*

From *Italy* we are returning home by the way of *Spain*; where, notwithstanding the Inquisition, and great Bishops who have very large Dioceses, and take themselves under those Circumstances to be *jure Divino*, as their Predecessors did at *Trent*, our Author ventures to prosecute his design, and makes enquiry after Village-Bishops.

“(y) In *Spain* the twelfth Council of *Toledo* (z) takes notice of one made a Bishop in *Monasterio Villula*, and another in *Suburbio Toletano*, &c. and of others in *aliis vicis & villulis*. It is true, he adds, that the Bishops there allow it not, but order it otherwise for the

(u) *Ughel. Ital. Sal. T. 3.*
(3) *Prim. Ep. p. 37.*

(x) *Ughel. Ital. 5. T. 1.*
(2) *Anno 681.*

future.

future. But for the satisfaction of the Reader; it may not be amiss to add the Reasons of that Synod against this matter. 1. (a) That it was an *Innovation* or a *Novel Presumption*. 2. It was against the received Laws of the Church, and Canonical Constitutions, *Canonica Constitutio id fieri omnimoda ratione refellit*. 3. That it was against Scripture, and the order of St. Paul to Titus to make Bishops in Cities; and then cites several Canons (b) of Councils against it, as that of *Sardica*, and two *African* Canons, and *Concilium Tauritanum* Title the second. And in conclusion they null such Ordinations. But what sort of Bishopricks they had anciently in *Spain*, shall appear in due place.

To bring Episcopacy yet one step lower, our Author (c) finds Bishops not only in Villages but in *Monasteries*, generally less than Villages: and this he thinks will be a proof of the *Question in hand*. What will these Bishops of Monasteries be proof of the Primitive way? And are Monasteries of such Primitive foundation? There could be surely no Bishop in the Monasteries, before there were such places. And we read not of any such till the fourth Century, and of no Bishops in them till afterwards, and those too as rare and extraordinary in ancient times, as simplicity in Courts, or

(a) Res nobis novellæ præsumptionis Usurpatione sese intulit pertractanda. (b) Oportet in nullo Monasterio quemlibet Episcopum Cathedrali collocare. *Conc. Carth. Frag. apd. Mabillon. Anal. p. 1.*

(c) *Prim. Ep. p. 38.*

sincerity and candor among Dissenters. But let us consider what he brings.

(d) Barfes and Eulogius had (e) a Monastery for their Diocese, no City nor Territory, and one Lazarus also. If our Author had transcrib'd but two words more out of *Sozomen*; he had spoiled all his Argument. But because nothing goes more against the Conscience of a Dissenter than Ingenuity; out of tenderness to that Infirmary I will supply the omission. *Sozomen* does indeed say, (f) that these were not made Bishops of any City, but only for honour's sake, and as it were by way of recompence for what they had done. These then were Titular or Honorary Bishops, according to this Historian, and therefore of little use to prove what was the measure of Primitive Dioceses.

To these (our Author says) we may add those Monasticks which Epiphanius (g) speaks of, one of them a Bishop in the Desert of Egypt, the other in mount Sinai, who having received Episcopal Consecration, took upon them to do Episcopal Acts, and to sit as Bishops. He might, if he had pleased, have taken some notice, that this reading is not only suspected, but plainly faulty. And *Petavius* has noted in the Margin, that it should be read with a negative; that these Monks having not received Ordination as Bishops, did yet presume to act as such. This is plain from what goes before; for *Epiphanius* shewing the

(d) *Prim. Ep.* p. 38.

(e) *Soz.* l. 6. c. 34. 32. Ed.

Val.

(f) ἡ πλειονη των ειναι τιμης ειναι, κ. αλτα-
μινους διομηρ.

(g) *Epiph. Expos. Fid.* p. 1095.

Extravagance of some Monks and men of severe lives, says, (b) that one *Zacchæus* being a Lay-man presumed to administer the Sacrament; and then follow the two above-mentioned, who took upon them the office of Bishops without being ordained. For what extravagance or fault could it appear, for persons who had been consecrated Bishops to administer the office committed to them? But they are here censured, (i) as men who presum'd rashly and insolently to act as Bishops from I know not what dreams, and as the sense must be, without ordination. I wonder our Author should think fit to dissemble this; since it is more for the service of his party, than any thing he has produced, to have some ancient instance to countenance the practice of assuming the Pastoral office without Ordination.

The next instance (l) of a Bishop of a Monastery is from the subscriptions of the Council of *Chalcedon*, where we have *Helpidius* Bishop *Thermensis Monasterij*. We own this Monastery to be a mistake, not of our Author indeed, but of the old Translator of those subscriptions, who finding *αὐτὸν* in the Greek subscriptions, render'd it Monastery; whereas it signifies a *Mansion* or a *Stage-Town* in the publick Course, or Post-road as we now speak. In some Manuscripts we have both words, *Mansio* and *Monasterium*; some have *Mansio*

(b) ἱερεῖον λαϊκὸς ὡς ἐπιχειρεῖ.
ἐν τῇ ταύτῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ συστάτο. (l) P. 38.

(i) ὡς αὐτὸς

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only, as that of *Paris* and *Dijon*, which *Baluzius* (m) mentions; and *Berterius* (n) had met the like. And the *Theodosian* Code makes frequent mention of these Mansions, l. 21. de *Decur.* Magistrates are appointed for those places out of the Cities in whose Territories they are. *Claudiopolis*, *Tortas* and *Vordis*, are said to be Towns or Mansions in *Bithynia*, l. 119. de *Decur. Cod. Theod.* And this *Therma* is mentioned in *Antonin's* Itinerary in the way from *Tavia* to *Casarea*, the first stage: And one *Elpidius* a Bishop of this place subscribes the sixth General Council, and calls it *St. Agapius* his *Therma* in the second *Galatia*.

Of the same Creation is the Bishop of the Monastery of *Studius*, which our Author (o) produces out of *Theodorus Lector*, after the decease of another who presided there. For learned men have observed long ago, that the word *Bishop* should be corrected, and the word *President* put in its place. And *Valesius* in his note upon that passage, does agree to the amendment. And that this may not seem to be done only from conjecture, and the seeming necessity of sense; *Theophanes* (p) and *Nicephorus* (q) do vouch it.

The same misfortune of faulty reading has made us Bishops of Monasteries here in *England*; and it is upon no other ground that

(m) *Baluz. Nov. Coll. Conc.* p. 1031. (n) *Man-*
 fio *Thermenis, Berter. Pitban.* (o) *Prim. Ep.* p.
 39. (p) *Theoph. in Chron.* p. 135. (q) *Niceph.*
H. E. l. 16. c. 25.

our Author (r) is so positive, that in Brittain there were commonly Bishops in Monasteries, and such too as were in subjection to the Abbot of the Convent though a Presbyter, as appears by the Synod of Hereford. *Ut Episcopi monachi non migrent*, &c. Spelm. p. 153. Beda l. 4. c. 5.

The word *Episcopi* in Mr. Wheelock's Edition of *Beda* is distinguished from the Text, and the Saxon Version disowns it; and Mr. Wheelock (s) in his *Errata's* takes care to advertise the Reader, that this word must be corrected, and *ipsi* put in its place. For so he found it in all his Manuscripts, that is *ipsi*. This might be no news to our Author, for my Lord Bishop of St. Asaph (t) had taken notice of it in his *Historical account of the Church Government of Great Britain*. But Chifflet in his late (u) Edition of *Beda*, printed from an old Copy (x) of S. Maximin's in Treves, of reverend Antiquity, has restored *ipsi*, though he takes no notice of the Enrendation. It is possible that in this Book, the word *ipsi* might be writ at length. I have seen some Manuscript Copies that vouch this Emendation, though the word be not written at length, but with contraction. Yet there is one very old Copy of the Cotton Library which has the word at length, and without any abbreviation, that puts an end to all further

(r) *Prim. Ep.* p. 39. (s) Dele obsecro (*Episcopi*)
 & pro Mss. i. i. lege *ipsi*. (t) *Hist. Account*, p. 68.
 (u) *Anno* 1681. (x) *Adorandum Antiquitatis optimæq;*
notæ Codicem. Chiff. Pref.

criticizing upon this passage. Although I cannot but observe, how unhappy our Author is in this particular; who in confirmation of that multiplicity of Bishops, which he vainly imagins was once in the Church of *England*, hath chosen to instance in a time, when there were indeed no more than seven Bishops in all the *Saxon* part of *Britain*.

In Spain it self, says our Author, (y) *Damium* is an *Episcopal* seat, Says *Ortelius*, and it is a *Monastery* in *Isidorus* and *Honorius*. Unde *Martinus Episcopus* qui scripsit de *quatuor Virtutibus cardinalibus*, oriundus,

It is true that *St. Martin*, call'd the Apostle of *Gallicia*, having converted *Theodomir* King of the *Suevi*, or as others name him *Chararacus*, from the *Arian* Heresie, was made Bishop in that *Monastery* which he had built. But that he had no other *Diocese* than his *Monastery*, we have no reason to believe. For in the Council, (z) *apud Lucum*, *Dumium* is said to have *Familia Regia* belonging to it; and in the distribution of *Dioceses* made by King *Wamba*, the bounds of this *Diocese* are marked, from *Duma* to *Albia*, and from *Rianteca* to *Adasa*. When this *St. Martin* was made Arch-bishop of *Braga*, he ordain'd no other in *Dumium*; but when he was dead, to do honour to the Seat of so great a Man, they might perhaps think for some time to appoint him a successor in *Dumium*, as we find by the subscriptions of seve-

(y) *Prim. Ep.* p. 39. (z) *Bræ.* 607. A. Christi 569. *Vid. Not. Garf. Loyasæ. in Conc. Luc.*

ral *Spanish* Councils. Yet even in the *Gothick* times this place was restor'd to *Braga*. For in the 16th Council of *Toledo*, *Felix* writes himself of *Braccara* and *Dumium*, as *Vasæus* (a) informs us from a M.S. copy of Canons in *Rodericus* Arch-bishop of *Toledo*. Nay, it may be question'd, whether there ever was another Bishop of this *Dumium* after *Martin*. For *Luitprandus* (b) informs us, that there were two places of this name Episcopal Seats, one in *Asturia*, and the other in *Gallicia*, which is the place of which we are speaking. But to give this Instance a positive Answer: A Monastery in the Suburbs of *Braga* made a Bishops seat about the middle of the sixth Century, is no argument of Primitive Episcopacy; but on the contrary, this place had always till this time belong'd to the Bishop of a City.

2. All this matter is extraordinary, to do honour to a person who had so highly deserv'd of the Kingdom of *Spain*, and therefore ought not to be drawn into a Precedent; much less to prescribe what sort of places are to be made Bishops seats. And after all, it does not appear that there was not a Diocese of several Congregations belonging to it.

Those who are not acquainted with the state of the Ancient Church, when they find instances of Bishops in Villages, or in a Monastery, may be apt to fancy, That these might be the Remains of another sort of Epif-

(a) *Vasæi. Chron.* c. 20. (b) *Luitpr. Advers.*

Episcopacy. Therefore to prevent such mistakes, I will briefly lay down the state of the Churches of *Spain*, from which our Author has produc'd some instances, from the oldest Records that remain of them. In the Year 569. King *Theodomir* complains (c) that in the Province of *Gallicia* the Dioceses were so large that their Bishops were not able to visit them in a Year, and therefore desires that they would take some order to remedy it. Whereupon they erected several new Bishopricks, and one new Metropolis; yet all the Bishopricks of that great Province after this accession, were but thirteen. When the Bishops of all *Spain* met in the Synod of *Valentia* (d) they were in all but sixty four. In the old Book of *Sevil* there are but 6 Arch-bishops, and 67 Bishops in all the Kingdom of *Spain*. In the old Book of *Oviedo* there are but 76 Bishops. Under King *Wamba*, (e) according to the old Boord call'd *Itacius*, of which *Luitprandus* makes frequent mention, there were in *Spain* 71 Bishops, and 7 Metropolitans. In a Controversy between the Arch-bishops of *Toledo* and *Valentia*, it is said that *Constantine* had divided the Country into Provinces and Dioceses, much to the same effect with what has been already produc'd; with this agrees the observations of *Luitprandus*, which are taken from the same Books: For speaking of the 13th Council of *Toledo*,

(c) Conc. Luc. Not. Garc. Loyase. d) Anno. 541.
Luitpr. Aduers. cum Episcopi totius Hispanie convenissent.
 (e) Anno. 666.

he saith the number of the Bishops there were 76, of whom 27 subscrib'd by Proxies. And in his *Chronicon* he gives notice of several new Bishopricks erected in *Spain*, in the later end of the seventh Century. The Dioces of *Spain* must be very large then, when so great a Country was divided between 70 or 80 Bishops, and especially considering the Province of *Narbon* was then reckon'd to *Spain*. At the time of the Council of *Illiberis*, *Spain* seems to have but few Bishops. For tho' we find by the Subscriptions that the Bishops had met there from all the Provinces of *Spain*; yet were there in all but 19. And long before this (g) in St. *Cyprians* time, two Cities in *Spain* seem'd to belong to one Bishop, as may be gather'd from the Inscription of St. *Cyprians* (h) Epistle, *Foelici Presbytero & plebibus consistentibus ad Legionem, & Asturica*. Upon which *Vasens* (i) has this Remark, *Colligi videtur Legionenses atque Asturicenses eo tempore eidem Episcopo fuisse subiectos, licet postea divisi Episcopatus fuerint*.

Our Author (l) cites *Rabanus Maurus* to very little purpose, when he makes him to say, that there were fewer Bishops at first, but in process of time they were Ordain'd not only in Cities but in places where there was no need. Which then is the most Primitive way, the first, or that which comes after?

After a tedious peregrination, our Author

(f) Anno. 305. Cone. Illib. (g) Anno. 254. (h) Ep. 67.

(i) *Vasens* in *Chron. Hisp.* Anno. 256. (l) Prim. ep. p. 40.

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(m) is very kind to let us come nearer home. I need not tell you how few Cities there are in Ireland ; yet Primat Usher tells us out of Nennius, that St. Patrick founded there 365 Churches and as many Bishops. I hope no reasonable man will blame me as too difficult of belief, if I refuse this fable for evidence. The authority of *Nennius* may be question'd without imputation of scepticism, and can never pass as long as men have judgment enough to distinguish between History and Legend. But I take *Nennius* his way of writing to be a degree even below Legend. But since this fabulous Calendar of *Irish* Bishops has pass'd without contradiction, not that any body ever believ'd it, but because it is too gross to be refuted ; and since it has been, and is still urg'd for History in the behalf of Primitive Episcopacy, I will endeavour to trace it to its Original ; and when the ground of the Story is understood, it will do the Congregational way but very slender service.

Arch-Bishop *Usher* (n) publish'd a Catalogue of old *Irish* Saints, which is divided into three ranks, which are distinguish'd one from another as well by time as by merit. The first is the best, they consisted all of Bishops, and their number was 350, they were founders of Churches, &c. This Order of Saints lasted for four Reigns, the last of which was *Tuathail* ; but they were not all *Irish*, but *Romans* and

(m) Prim. ep. p. 40.
p. 473. ult. Ed.

(n) Antiquit. Eccl. Brit.

Francks, and *Britans*. Now according to Arch bishop *Ushers* (o) Chronology of those Reigns, there is above a hundred years from the beginning of *St. Patrick's* Apostleship to the end of *Tuathail*; only there is one King before him in that *Chronological* Table which the old Catalogue does not mention. That these were the Bishops of *St. Patrick's* ordination, we may find in *Jocelin*, (p) who says that *St. Patrick* ordain'd just so many with his own hand, and founded 700 Churches. To compleat the *Irish* Calendar, *Nennius* increas'd their number to 365; a singular complement to a lazy Nation, to make it holiday for them all the year round. Now whether all these liv'd in *Ireland*, or were all ordained by *Patrick*, the Catalogue does not say: But it says expressly, That they were of several other Nations besides *Irish*. So that this may rather represent the Communion of *Patrick*, and the number of Bishops in *Britain* and *France* that kept Easter on the fourteenth of the Moon, than his Suffragans of *Ireland*. And the fewness of Bishops in succeeding times, and under the second order, seems to represent a great change, not in the lives of the Bishops, for if I mistake not, it is the cause that is in the bottom of that Catalogue; but in the observances which are there mention'd. For whether the *Francks* by this time had taken another way, and the *British* Churches

(o) Antiquit. p. 490. Ed. ult.
p. 492.

(p) Usher. Antiq.

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were under great calamities, or *Augustin* the Monk had introduc'd the *Roman* customs, there are but few Bishops in the second order. But supposing these holy Bishops had been all of *Ireland*; yet there is no need of so many Cathedrals for them; for they lasted four Reigns, which makes up a hundred years. And though all the Bishops seats in *Ireland* had not been above fifty, they might easily have afforded 350 Saints in the compass of a hundred years. But because there are but sixty years allow'd for *St. Patrick's* Government in *Ireland*, even in that and the surviving generation; this number of Bishops might easily rise from fifty. I mention this number, because sometimes *Ireland* has had so many Dioceses or more, as we may see in a copy of the Provincial publish'd by (q) *S. Paulo*, which hath more Seats in it than that of which *Cambden* speaks. After all, I am not well satisfi'd but all *St. Patrick's* Bishops may be a fable, and he himself only a Saint of imagination. For who can tell but *Patricius Arvernensis* may have sunk a day lower in the Calendar, and made the Irish a *Patricius Hibernensis*: Or the Spanish *Patrick* (r) of *Malaga*, who according to *Luitprandus* lays claim to that day, might appear to the Irish in a Dream, as *St. George* did to our Country-men, and become their Protector, and at last their Apostle? For the Calendar is the ground upon which the Legendaries run divisions, and as barren as it seems to be, it has produced a world of devout Fa-

(q) *Geogr. Sacr.*

(r) *Luitpr. Advers.*

bles. For in old time, give a Monk but a name; and he would quickly write a life.

Our Author taking S. Patrick's (s) 365 fabulous Bishopricks for effective, is not content, but would increase their number about the twelfth Century. Afterwards, says he, the number of Bishops increased in Ireland; so that when Malachias went into Ireland, near 600 years after S. Patrick, Anno 1150. (t) *Unus Episcopatus non esset contentus uno Episcopo, sed singula pane Ecclesie singulos haberent Episcopos.* That Bishopricks were multiplied in Ireland in Malachy's time, Bernard does indeed complain of; but that before this increase, they were 365, neither he nor any body else of that time does affirm: Nor is it likely; for a man less eloquent than S. Bernard could not have omitted it. For what could have exposed this humour of multiplying Bishops more effectually, than to have shewn, that there were already in that Kingdom so many more Dioceses in proportion to the extent of it, than in any Christian Country in the World? Bernard (u) makes heavy complaint, that it was a thing unheard of from the beginning of Christianity; Bishops were chang'd and multiply'd without order and without reason. Yet for all this storming, his friend Malachy had a large Diocese to look after; for he was not content, says Bernard, to go about his Episcopal City of Conneth, but he went out into the Country, and visited the Towns of his Diocese, and all

(s) Prim. Ep. p. 40.

(u) Bernard. vit. Malach;

(t) Bern. vit. Malach.

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this on foot. But within twenty years of the time we are speaking of, we have a certain account of the Irish Dioceses. For when *Henry* the second went (x) over to *Ireland*, there were (y) but twenty-nine Bishops in all that Kingdom, and four Arch-Bishops, or thirty according to the reckoning of *Gervasius*. (z) The former number is confirmed by *Benedictus Abbas* in the Life of King *Henry II.* And even of this number some were but lately erected. For (a) in the year 1095. *Murchertagh* King of that part of *Ireland*, with his Clergy and People, desired leave of *Anselm* Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* (who was then Primate of all *Ireland* as well as *England*) to found a new Bishoprick at *Waterford*, complaining that in those parts they had hitherto wanted the presence of a Bishop; requesting him to ordain *Malchus* for their Bishop, whom they had sent over for that purpose, which he did accordingly. So far was *Ireland* from being overstocked with Bishops at that time. The Copies of the Provincial are of little use to shew any thing of the ancient state of this Country; for all of them are later than the year 1150, because they all have the four Arch-Bishops; the Irish Church having never had (a) any before that year; though Arch-Bishop *Usher* would have *Armagh* excepted.

(x) Anno 1171. (y) *Fob. Brompton. X. Script. Col. 1070.* (z) *Cron. Gervasij. X. Scr. Col. 1420.* (a) *Eadmer. Hist. Nov. l. 2. p. 36.* (æ) *Manb. Par. in Steph. Anno 1151. Sim. Duwelch. Anno 1152. Gervasi. Chron. Anno 1171.*

When

When we had come so near home as *Ireland*; I was in hopes our wandring after Village-Bishops had been at an end; especially when he had come to the dregs of his evidence, *Nennius* and the Irish Legends. But I know not how, a sudden fancy transports our Author to *Afric*, and thither I must follow, a proper place to look rarities and unusual sights. It cannot indeed be denied, that in this Country there were Bishops, if not in Villages, yet in *Municipia* or Burrough-Towns; but that this was the primitive state of that Church, we cannot allow. And the multiplying of Bishops being occasioned there by the Schism of the *Donatists*, cannot be alledged for a precedent; since the Bishops of that time complained of it in the Conference of *Carthage*, as a wrong and an innovation. But of this there is a more particular account in another Book, (c) which I am not willing to transcribe. But yet what our Author would put upon us, ought not to pass without Examination.

(d) In five of the Provinces of the *African* Diocese (he might have said six, for so they are reckoned in the Conference of *Carthage*; *Tripolis* being added to the other five) there were in *St. Austin's* time near 900 Bishops. And this he proves by adding the *Donatist* Bishops to the *Catholick*, there being 500 of the one and 400 of the other.

(b) Prim. Ep. p. 41. (c) Vind. of Prim. ch. p. 516. (d) Prim. Ep. p. 41.

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As for the Catholicks, the utmost of St. *Augustin's* account in the *abstract of the Conference* is but 465. And yet in another Book he reckons (e) not the Absents full a hundred, which in his Abstract he sets at 120. And for the *Donatists* who are reckon'd 400, we are not so easily to admit their account. S. *Augustin* never admitted it, though our Author says he did not deny they were 400. It is true, he does not positively deny it, because he could not be certain of their number; but he does every where suggest that they boasted without reason, and made themselves more numerous than they were. For when they pretended to have many absent, and more than the Catholicks, he turns the pretence into a jest. *What*, says he, (f) *had some Pestilence invaded them, that a third part of their number should be sick together?* For they had acknowledged, that they were all present, excepting such whom age or sickness had detained. And in all his accounts of the Conference he detects their frauds in subscribing for the absents, as if they had made their appearance. And among the subscriptions there was one found who had been some time dead; and they could not deny it. But be the number of those Schismatics what they will, it is not reasonable to admit them into the list of the Bishops of that Country, since they set up Altar against Altar oftentimes in the same City, and generally in

(e) Centum ferme Episcopi contr. Don. post Coll. c. 24. (f) Aug. post Coll. c. 24.

the same Diocese, where a Catholick Bishop was plac'd, and sometimes set up three or four against one. So there is no reason that these should swell the account of *African* Bishops. We reckon a Parish with us to have but one Rector, though an Independent or Anabaptist Teacher may set up in it a separate Assembly; or though a speaking Presbyterian Elder, the most forward and fiercest of all our Church-dividers, should hold a Conventicle there for a Nursery to other Sects.

But we have reason (our Author thinks) to take the Donatists into the account; since the Catholics decreed, that when the Donatists were reduc'd, those places among them which had Bishops should continue to be Episcopal seats. If he had thought fit to consider the order of time, and how different the state of the *African* Church before the Conference at Carthage was, from that which followed it; this apparition of an Argument had vanished. Before Marcellinus his Decree, the Catholics of *Africa* made several temporary Provisions for the reclaiming of the Donatists. And that no encouragements might be wanting to invite either the People or their Bishops to be reconciled to the Church; sometimes they order, that if a Donatist Bishop should prevail with his people to leave their schism, he should remain still their Bishop: Sometime, that the People who had a Bishop heretofore, and were converted from the Donatists, might without a new order from a Synod, chuse a Bishop of their own; or if they would chuse rather to be annexed to some other Diocese, it was not to be denied them.

Another

Another time it is ordered, that where a Diocese was divided between a Catholick Bishop and a Donatist, and the later with his people returned to Catholick Communion, (g) they might both be Bishops of that Diocese; and upon the death of one, the other was to succeed to the whole; or if the people should be offended with this unusual sight of two Bishops in one Diocese, then both should resign, and the Diocese left to a new choice. But after the Decree of *Marcellinus*, and the confirmation of it by the Imperial Rescript, the case was alter'd. For then (h) every Innovation of the Donatists was declared void, and those Dioceses of theirs, which had been branches of others, and torn from them in the schism, were now to revert to the first dependance. The Donatists therefore are not to come into the number of the *African* Bishops by vertue of that Canon; for at the end of the Canon it self the Imperial Law was afterwards added, as an advertisement of its being repeal'd. The Canon then was made before the Conference, and consequently before the computation of *S. Augustin*. But after the Conference and the Law, the door was shut; and the Donatist Bishopricks if they had been parts of others were restored to them, and no provision made for the Bishops though they should happen to

(g) Aug. Gest. cum Emer. Cod. Afr. c. 112.

(h) Col. Carth. in fin. Cod. Theod. l. 55. de Hæret. Anno 414. Cod. Afr. c. 12. Ed. Zon. 99. ap. Bin. 152. Ed. Til.

be converted. After the time of *S. Augustin*, we do not find the *African* Bishopricks much increased. For within fifty years of the death of that Bishop, we have an account (i) of all the Dioceses in that Country, which amounted to 466. out of which must be deducted eight for *Sardinia* which did not belong to the Roman *Africk*. But I am afraid the Proconsular *Africk* is imperfect in the *Notitia*, if *Victor Vicensis* (l) his account may be taken; or there be not some Error in the Copy. But not to insist much upon small matters and uncertain, let us calculate the Bishopricks of such Provinces of *Africk* of which we have a more distinct account. In the two *Mauritanias* in the *African Notitia*, we have 173 Bishopricks, of which six were then void. Now both these Provinces, according to *Pliny*, are 839 miles long, and 480 broad. The Country must surely be very ill peopled; if every sorry Village had a Bishop, nay if every Bishop had not 60, or 70 Villages in his Diocese. Nay, if we consider the extent of the whole Roman *Africk*, we shall have little reason to conclude, that Congregational Episcopacy should follow from the great number of Bishops in that Country. *Procopius* (m) who was acquainted with the Country, having attended *Belisarius* in his African Expedition, tells us, that the Roman *Africk* was ninety days Journey in length; and that we might better understand his reckoning, he tells us

(i) *Not. Afr. apud Sirm. Miscel.*
l. 1. (m) *Proc. p. Vind. l. 1.*

(l) *Viñ. Persec. Vand.*

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that a days Journey was 210 *Stadia*, or 26 miles and a quarter; which amounts to above 2360 miles. The breadth was unequal, in both the *Mauritanias* near five hundred miles; in the Proconsular *Africk* two hundred. This Province was so populous (*n*) and so fertile, that *Egypt* cannot be thought to surpass it. And for *Bizacena*, the account *Pliny* (*o*) gives of its fertility is prodigious; for the Husbandman there receiv'd a hundred-fold. Now in this Country so vast and so populous, let us take a low estimate of the number of Villages that might be there, and reckon them at forty thousand; and these divided into 500 Dioceses, every Diocese will have fourscore Towns. That this may not seem an extravagant Calculation, let us compare it with other Countries. *France* is not half so big as the Roman *Africk*; and yet in *Lewis* 13 his time it had above two and thirty thousand Parishes, as *Bertius* reckons: And in *Henry* the third's time, by a Tax laid on every Parish, they were found (*p*) to be near five and twenty thousand; the Provinces of *Burgundy* and *Poitou* not reckoned, which may make up the remainder. Now it is well known, that there, as well as here, there are many more Villages than Parishes; and therefore I conceive I cannot over-reckon them, when I set a Country for extent double to *France*; and of which a

(*n*) Φύσις γὰρ πολυάνθρωπος ἔστι ἡ λιβύη πάλαι ἔχει
 τὸς γῆν γεωργίας. *Herodian*. l. 7. § 9. (o) *I lin.*
 l. 5. c. 4. (p) *Bodin*. de Rep.

Great part was more populous, at almost an equal number for Villages: But suppose the number yet less by one half, every Bishoprick will have forty Villages, which is too much yet for the Congregational way; especially since upon this reckoning, Towns must be thin and at greater distance, and so less fitted for personal Communion with their Bishop. Nay, though they had at last been reduced by the Iniquity of times and the Opposition of parties to the measure of our Parishes; yet the condition of those Churches would move our pity, rather than our desire of imitation and condition so different from all other Countries, and so unlike that of *Africk* it self, when *Cyprian* lived. For all the *African* Bishops of his time could not have supplied the Dioceses of one Province, at the time of which we are speaking. But for all this, when Mr. *Baxter* or Mr. *Clerkson* will have it so, what is last must be primitive; what sprung from the unfortunate divisions of one Country must be a Precedent to all. And that must be received as Apostolick practice, which was introduced by one of the most heady and desperate and Hypocritical Sects that ever divided the Church of Christ. But I am afraid we may say with too much truth, that our Country has out-done *Africk* in Monsters of this nature. Yet after all this distraction, there remain'd in *Africk* several large Dioceses; which has been fully proved in other Books, (q) and needs not be

(q) Unreasonable of Separ. 249, 250. and Sequ. Vindic. of Prim. Ch. p. 524, 525. &c.

repeated

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repeated in this place; though I shall not omit to take notice before I have done, of those exceptions which Mr. *Clerkson* has made in another Book against the Evidence for Diocesan Episcopacy in *Africk*.

In the end of this Chapter our Author thinks fit to engage Bishop *Taylor*, who answering an Objection concerning *Asclepius*, (r) Bishop of a small Village in the Territory of *Vaga* or *Baga*, shews that he was a Bishop of a Territory as well as of a Village; and for this cites *Trithemius*. (s) I confess that the expression of *Trithemius* does not conclude either for the largeness or straitness of that Bishoprick, which may be very large though the Episcopal seat be a Village, or narrow though it have a City to give it denomination; unless our Author thinks, that because there were but 500, or as he reckons 900 Dioceses in *Africk*, there were no more Towns or Villages in the whole Country.

He is pleased to add, that he never yet could see any proof, any instance of a small Village, that had so extended a Territory under one Bishop. But did he ever see an instance of a Bishop who had no Diocese but the single Village in which he resided? Or has he ever seen the limits of such a Bishoprick described? If he have, why does he not produce it? For one such instance had been worth his whole Chapter about Village Bishops. If he have not,

(r) Gennad. Catal. Script. Eccles.

(s) Trithem. de Script.

why does he use so much confidence when he is wholly in the dark? There are but very few ancient Dioceses, that are delivered down to us with an account of their Circuit. But we happen to know the number that was of old in several Countries; and from thence can infer in general of the greatness and smallness of the Bishopricks. And to give our Author one instance more in a Country he quotes for Village-Bishops. In *Cyprus*, in *Sozomen's* time it was usual to have Bishops in Villages; and yet in all that Island at that very time there were but nine Bishops under one Metropolitan, as appears from the subscriptions of the Council of *Chalcedon*. (t) For in the Copy of subscriptions publish'd by *Labbe* from the Papers of *Sirmond*, there are six Subscribers from that Island. And again the Metropolitan subscribing with several others, for his Suffragans that were absent, had but three remaining to subscribe for. And therefore we must conclude, that either the Village-Bishops had a considerable Territory, or the City Bishopricks were enormously great.

At last this Chapter concerning Village-Bishops is brought to a Conclusion, and upon the whole matter I conceive two points to be very clear: 1. That although there were some Bishops seated in Villages, yet it does by no means follow, that they were but Pastors to a single Congregation. 2. That a great

(t) *Cons. Chal. Act.* 6, & 15.

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number of places, which our Author took to be Villages, are prov'd to be Cities before he can find any Bishops to be seated there. So that either the skill and the diligence of Mr. *Clerkson* were not so great, as his friends give out, who in these matters are very implicit believers; or else we must complain of want of ingenuity and fair dealing, a fault which the Saints are very easy to forgive, when it is committed in pure zeal to their Cause; but we Church of *England* men take for one of the blackest sins.

C H A P. III.

After a tedious Journey through Villages and obscure places, we are at last come to Cities, and may hope now for a nobler Subject of our enquiry and observation. But to our great disappointment and mortification, we are inform'd by our Author, (a) That *far the most part of them, (viz. those that were very little, and those that were not great) were for their largeness but like our Villages or market Towns.* They are much to blame, who have hitherto admir'd the magnificence of *Greek* and *Roman* Cities; and pretend to judge of their former greatness by the ruins that re-

(a) Prim. ep. p. 45.

main; as we discover the stature of Giants by some of their Bones. Whereas these celebrated Cities, were, *far the most of them*, as we are now told, not superior to Putney or Baterssey, or to say the utmost, to Kingston or Colebrook.

But to make out this Paradox, our Author (b) enters into a critical dispute concerning the Greek and Hebrew word for City, and shews that some have bestow'd the title of City upon those places that others call Villages. City, says he, *is not only City, but Town*; because, according to one Evangelist (c) our Saviour saith, *whatsoever City ye enter*: According to another, (cc) *whatsoever City or Village*. And again in one place, (d) he tells the Capernaaites, *he must preach in other Cities*. In another place, (e) and upon another occasion, our Saviour is said *to go about all Cities and Villages preaching*. And in another place (f) joyns both the words in one, *let us go into the chief Villages*. But these instances are so far from proving, that πόλις signifies a Village; that some of them do plainly shew the quite contrary; for they distinguish between Cities and Villages. And the other where Cities are only mention'd and Villages imply'd, they are there to be understood not from the

(b) Prim. ep. p. 46.

(c) Luk. 10. 8. ἢν ᾧν

πόλιν εἰσερχόμενοι.

(cc) Math. 10. 11. εἰς ἣν δεῖ ᾧν

πόλιν ἢ κώμην.

(d) Luk. 4. 43. ἐτίραις πόλεσι.

Math. 9. 35.

(e) πόλεις πάσας καὶ τὰς κώμας.

(f) Mark 1. 38. εἰς κώμας πόλεις.

notion of the word, but from the nature of the thing. For instance, suppose one were order'd to preach to all the Citizens of *Rome*, and by virtue of this order should preach to the Strangers and Servants there, shall therefore a Citizen signify a stranger or a slave? yet from the nature of the thing these might be understood to be included, tho' not from the signification of the word; and tho' another relation of this order should add the particulars omitted, yet the former word *Citizens* would not have a double sense. If one should say he had view'd a certain house, and at another time speaking of the same thing, should say he had view'd the house and gardens, does therefore a house signify a garden? The less principal parts are often omitted in ordinary discourse, tho' when men speak with more exactness, they are enumerated. Our Saviour and his Disciples may have enter'd some times into solitary and alone Houses, as well as into Villages; and if one of the Evangelists had happen'd to have added this, must therefore a Village or a City signify a simple house? (g) *Bethlem is*, Luke 2. 38. *the City of David*; but *no other than a Village*, John 7. 24. Which Epiphanius (h) takes notice of, and gives this reason for it, *That it was reduc'd to small compass, and had very few inhabitants*. And what can be more directly against our Author's purpose than this reason? For it is call'd a City with respect to

(g) Prim. ep. p. 46.

(h) Epiph. Hær. 51.

its ancient greatness, and a Village in respect of its present mean condition; as the same man by an usual civility is stil'd by an office he once bore, tho' he be reduc'd to a meaner place; yet the one title does by no means signify or imply the other.

But this instance of *Bethlem* will prove yet more prejudicial to the cause of Congregational Episcopacy upon another account. For the design of our Author in disparaging Cities, by making the title common to Villages, is to shew what mean places those were that made up the Dioces of ancient Bishops; whereas this instance overthrows that vain imagination, and proves the quite contrary. For this place which is call'd *City*, had never any Bishop of its own for above a thousand years after Christ, but was part of the Diocese of *Jerusalem*, (i) from which it was six miles distant. In St. *Jerom's* (l) time it was taken to have been immemorially a Parish belonging to that Bishop, and was serv'd by Presbyters as our country Parishes are. And *Jerom* (m) in another place shews in general, that in lesser Cities there were no Bishops, but Presbyters and Deacons, and these too at a great distance from the Bishops seats; and cannot deny but

(i) Parochia est Episcopi, qui Hierosolymam tenet. Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1. (l) Presbyteris tuis obtulimus. Præcepisti Bethlem Presbyteris tuis. Hieron. adv. Err. Joh. Hieros. (m) Qui longe in minoribus urbibus per Presbyteros & Diaconos baptizati sunt. Hieron. Lucif.

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that this is the Custom of the Churches, that the Bishops go to confirm such as have been Baptiz'd in lesser Cities at a distance. And speaking of the same places, he (*n*) calls them *Villages or Castles, and remote places*, which were visited by the Bishop, and this by ancient and immemorial custom. So that all our Authors diligence to confound Cities with Villages, and to represent Cities as very small, does at last no service to his Hypothesis; since we find that long before St. Jerom's time many of these went to make up one Diocese, and were under the visitation of one Bishop. The instances alledg'd out of *Josuah* do little concern the present question; yet that nothing may pass without reply, they should be consider'd. (*o*) *There are thirty eight Towns enumerated and call'd Cities, Jos. 15. 21. Yet all the Cities are said to be but twenty nine, v. 32. Masius and other Expositors remove the difficulty thus, that the rest of the Towns, tho call'd Cities, were but Villages.* Yet there may be another way of removing this difficulty, and *Grotius* (*p*) proposes one that seems more probable, that the nine Cities which remain'd over and above the twenty nine, did not belong to the Tribe of Judah, but of *Simeon*; for (*q*) *out of the portion of the Children of Judah, was the inheritance of the Children of Simeon—and they had their inheritance within the inheritance of them.* And many

(*n*) In Viculis, aut Castellis aut locis remotioribus. Ibid. (*o*) Prim. ep. p. 46. (*p*) In. loc. .
 (*q*) Jos. 19. 9.

of the same places, and at least the same names are recorded as belonging to both, and sometimes in the same order. But this is clear'd beyond all cavil, 1 *Chron.* 4. 28. and confirm'd by the observation of *Jerom* (r) in his Hebrew Traditions on the *Chronicles*.

To the same effect he observes, (s) that *there are twenty three places reckoned by name and call'd Cities, Josh. 19. Yet, v. 28. there are said to be but nineteen Cities. They resolve it as the former.* This is a plain mistake of our Authors; for there are but sixteen Cities nam'd to the Tribe of *Naphthali*, tho' the sum is made nineteen. But that which gave occasion to this mistake, is the mentioning of the borders of this Tribe; (t) but the places are not call'd Cities, and perhaps did not belong to that Tribe, but to some other that bounded it; and of these sixteen we must deduct some, if we follow the Septuagint. It is an usual thing in the book of *Josuah* to have the sum to differ from the particulars, sometimes it is less, and sometimes it exceeds, and this is not a place to attempt to reconcile them. (u) *There are four call'd Cities, Jos. 19. 6. yet those in 1 Chron. 4. 32. are Villages.* This too is a plain mistake, occasion'd by the ill pointing of that passage of the *Chronicles*. For the beginning of the 32 verse belongs to the verse going before, and should be read thus, (x) *These were their Cities*

(r) Hieron. Trad. Hebr. in Paralip. (s) Prim. ep.
p. 46. (t) Vid. Bonfrer. (u) Prim. ep. p.
46. 47. (x) 1 Chron. 4, 31. 32. 33.

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into the reign of David, and their Villages. Then follows five names ; and in the end of that verse it is added, that they were Cities ; and the verse following, and all their Villages that were about the same Cities.

Thus the *Syriack* and *Arabick* Versions read, and use a Preposition with their Villages ; and thus the sense requires, that both the Hebrew and Septuagint should be read. And the occasion of this difficulty proceeds from St. *Jerom's* (y) mistake, which appears in his observation upon this place ; and the mistake was propagated by dividing the *Hebrew* Text and the version of 70 into verses according to the vulgar Latin. Our Translatours were too bold in adding a verb in this place, which is neither in the Original nor in any ancient Translation, tho' they distinguish'd it from the Text by another Character.

From Scripture Mr. *Clerkson* (z) appeals to other Authors for the proof of his observation, that *κώμης* signifies a Village. When *Polybius* writes, that *Tiberius Gracchus* ruin'd three hundred Cities in a part of Spain : *Possidonius* says that Cities were call'd Castles by him. But *Possidonius* is so far from allowing the expression, that he exposes the Author for it, and shews it was to flatter *Gracchus*, and that this way of speaking suited better with the pomps of a Triumph, than the exactness of an Historian ; nay he sticks not to call this a Lie. For,

(y) Trad. Hebr. in Paralip. (z) Prim. ep. p. 47.
says

For, says he, (a) *Generals and Writers are easily carry'd to this Lie, magnifying their actions beyond truth and reality.*

(b) *Those who say that Spain hath more than a thousand Cities, speak after the same figure, giving great Villages the titles of Cities.* If vain men will call their geese swans, it does not alter the species, nor change the common language of the world. Yet after all, this loose way of speaking does by no means hurt the cause of Diocesan Episcopacy. For every place which in complement might be called a City, did not become a Bishops-seat; for in this very Country, where more than a thousand Cities are said to have been after this favourable way of reckoning, there does not appear to have been a hundred Bishopricks in any age since the Apostles. *Ælian* (c) reckon'd in *Italy* eleven hundred and sixty six Cities. *Guido of Ravenna* (d) writes from *Higinus*, who had made a Book of the Cities of *Italy*, that in his time there were seven hundred. Yet we cannot find that for 600 years after Christ, there were so many as 150 Diocesenes in all that Country. But of this we have given some account already.

(a) Strabo l. 3. Κωμωδῶν φησὶ τὰς πόλεις ποιεῖν, ὡς περ ἐν θεαματικῇ πόμπῃ. — διὰ τὴν τῶν συγγραφέων ῥαδίαν ἐπὶ τῷ φέροντι τὸ ψεῦδος. καὶ ὡς ποιεῖται τὰς πόλεις. (b) Prim. ep. p. 47.
(c) Ælian. var. Hist. (d) Leandro Alberti Descritt. d' Ital. Præfat. fol. 6.

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(e) Ptolomy (f) calls Avarum *πάλιν ἢ κώ-
μην μετόγειον*. In Josephus, (g) Bethsura is called
a City; but in the page before it is only *κώμην*
a Village: And Justinian says of Petyus and
Sebastopolis, reckoned among the Cities of Pontus
Polemoniachus, that they were to be reckoned rather
for Castles than Cities. It happens to Cities,
as it does to men; some are born noble, others
rise up to it by gradual increase. Some have
been Cities and great from their first founda-
tion, as *Alexandria, Constantinople, Antioch*,
and many more; others by industry and good
fortune have grown up by slow degrees from
Villages to be Cities; and in their Progref-
sion, when they are become equal to the gene-
rality of Cities in every thing but Title and
Priviledge, they are called Cities or Villages ac-
cording to the pleasure of those who speak of
them. In the confines of child and man, we
are doubtful what name to use. *Tra giovane
e fanciullo l'eta confine*, as *Tasso* expresses it.
Yet if a man should undertake upon this
account to shew, that *man* and *child* are words
used promiscuously; and that therefore what-
ever right or priviledge a man may have by
Law or Custom, belongs also to a child; such
a person would be thought not yet arrived to
the judgment of a man, and to stand in need
of a School-master to teach him propriety of
language. But besides the childishness of the
notion, our Author hath been unfortunate in

(e) *Prim. Ep.* p. 47.

(g) *Jos. Ant.* l. 12, c. 13.

(f) *Ptol.* l. 5, c. 17.

his instances; for it is possible, that the City and the Village, which are called by the same name in *Josephus*, may not be the same place. For *Jerom* (*b*) takes notice of two *Bethsura*'s in *Judaa*, one in the way from *Jerusalem* to *Hebron*, another within a mile of *Eleutheropolis*. And *Josephus* when he speaks of these places, does not use the same name; for one (*i*) is a neuter and plural, the other (*l*) is a feminine. I know the Books of *Macchabees* vary the name for the same place; but *Josephus* when he speaks of the City *Bethsura*, constantly useth the singular and the feminine. Nor is it necessary to insist upon this; for *Josephus* may speak properly, though it should be granted, that he spoke of the same place. For before it was fortified by *Judas Macchabeus*, it might be but a Village; but afterwards it is called a City, and the strong and impregnable City. And being the only safe retreat of the *Jews* of that part of the Country, it must quickly grow populous enough to deserve the Title, and to enjoy the privileges of a City. And now we are speaking of this place, so renowned in the History of the *Macchabees*, it may not be amiss to have it restored to its true Situation. A faulty reading in the second Book of *Macchabees* (*m*) had brought this Fortrefs within less than a mile of *Jerusalem*; and accordingly *Adricomius* placeth it in

(*b*) *Hieron. de loc. Hebr.*

(*i*) ἐν Βαθσέβρις πόλει.

(*l*) τὴν Βαθσέβρις πόλιν. *Jos. Ant.* l. 12. c. 11.

(*m*) 2 *Macch.* 11. 5.

his Maps. But this can by no means be reconciled with the relation which *Josephus* gives of several Actions in the *Maccabean Wars*. When this City was besieged by *Antiochus Eupator*, *Judas* left the Siege of the Cittadel of *Jerusalem*, and advanced towards the Enemy who lay before *Bethsura*; and having marched a considerable way, and posted his men in a strait place called *Bethzacharia*, he was then seventy furlongs from the Enemy, and from *Bethsura*. Besides, in the Book of *Macchabees* it is said to be built against the Incursions of the *Idumeans*; which supposes it near their Borders, as indeed it was; for the *Alexandrian* Copy has clear'd this point. For instead of five furlongs, we read there that it was five *Schani* from *Jerusalem*. Now a *Schanus* according to *Herodotus*, (n) is sixty furlongs in *Egypt*. *Pliny* reckons it but thirty. And according to this reckoning, the distance between *Jerusalem* and *Bethsura* will be near twenty miles, as *Jerom* has placed it. As for *Pityus*, it was an ancient City, and had been in reputation both for greatness and wealth. *Strabo* (o) calls it the great *Pityus*; and *Pliny* (p) gives it the character of a most wealthy Town; but it was sacked by the *Heniochi*. What if before *Justinian's* time the fortune of this place happened to run so low, that it became little superiour to an ordinary Garrison Town; yet surely it might retain its former Title of

(n) *Herodot.* l. 2.

(o) *Strab.* l. 11. in fin.

(p) *Plin.* l. 6. c. 5.

City, without rendring it common to every Garrison or Castle in the Country. *Sebastæ* too was an old City, and mentioned by *Pliny* among the chief of the Country; and let me intreat our new Criticks, that it may retain its old Title, though fallen a little into decay, without making way for every upstart Village to come in and claim the dignity of a City. These instances I was willing to account to his misfortune; but that of *Avarum* I must own as an act of dexterity. This is represented as an ambiguous thing, between a City and a Village. And *Ptolomy* the great Surveyor of the world is made to speak doubtfully, as if he were not able to distinguish the kind. *Ptolomy* is of no kin to me; but for Truth and Justice sake I am willing to do him right. For to declare the truth, that Author did never say that which Mr. *Clerkson* puts upon him. When men are positive, and quote Greek, especially Fanaticks; one may be apt to think they found it somewhere, and never made the quotation. But here I must confess it happens to be otherwise; for poor *Ptolomy* is put upon. For he does not say that *Avara* is a City or a Village, but he places it in a part of *Arabia*, among many other Towns; and it is unaccountable how our Author should single it from all the rest. At the head of the Chapter there is a general Title: *The Midland Cities and Villages of Arabia*; and at some distance this place is set down. If the Title make it of an ambiguous kind, all the rest that are named with it must be so too. Nay most of the Towns in *Ptolomy* must be of the same nature

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ture, because the Title is very frequent in him. I was willing to suspect my Edition, rather than the conscience of my Author, who differed from the Church of *England* out of pure tenderness of mind. But having examined other Editions, I found the old Heathen Geographer was put upon by an Independent Saint. Some blunt men may in their plain way call this manner of dealing, forgery and falsifying; but towards godly men we must avoid rudeness, and let such tricks as these pass for Oeconomy, and dextrous management of a cause.

(q) *Bishop Bilson (r) tells us, as also Dr. Field, (s) that the Apostles would have the City and places adjoyning to make but one Church; and that herein they proposed the Jews as their exemplar, who had their Synagogues in Cities. How much Bishop Bilson or Dr. Field make for our Author's purpose, let the Reader judge when I have laid the words before him. They (the Apostles) says Dr. Field, so sorted and divided out particular Churches, that a City, and the places near adjoyning made but one Church. — Now because Churches of so large extent required many Ministers of the word and sacraments, and yet of one Church there must be but one Pastor; the Apostles in settling the state of these Churches did so constitute in them many Presbyters. Now according to Dr. Field, every Episcopal Church, as laid out by the Apostles, having so large ex-*

(q) *Prim. Ep.* p. 47.

(r) *Bils. Perp. Gov.* c. 14.

(s) *Field of the Ch.* l. 5. c. 27.

tent as to require many Ministers, and yet but one Pastor or Bishop, was plainly not a Congregational Church, but Diocesan. Bishop *Bilson* (t) is yet plainer against the purpose for which he is alledg'd. *We have*, says that learned Prelate, *one Bishop in a Church*, ty'd to the *Laws of God, the Church and the Prince*; you would have 300 in a Diocese and some more, all of equal power, and set at liberty to consult and determine at their pleasure.—Neither had the Jews that kind of Government which you would establish in the Church; neither did our Lord and Master ever prescribe to the Gentiles the judicial part of *Moses Law*. And again, *As the people did increase*, so did the pains in each place, and consequently the number of Presbyters; one man being no more able to serve the necessities of a great City, than to bear the burden of the Earth upon his back; and yet in each Church and City, one chief among them, that as principal Pastor of the place, &c. And to conclude, you dislike a Bishop should have any Diocese or Church, besides that one wherein he teacheth;—which nice conceit of yours not only condemneth the Primitive Church of Christ, that assigned Dioceses to Bishops, but contradisteth the very ground of Government which the Apostles left behind them.

(u) Now in what places the Jews had their Synagogues, if it were not plain, *Matth. 9. 35.* that they were far from being alway great Cities, will appear from the seats of their Consistories.

(t) *Bils. Perpet. Gov. c. 14. p. 295, 298, 306, 321.*

(u) *Prim. Ep. p. 48.*

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I never yet heard of any, who denied that the Jews had Synagogues in Villages, as well as Cities. But that the Village-Synagogues were independent, and free from any subjection to the Cities in Ecclesiastical causes, is now the question; and our Author is wise in saying nothing of it. For those who have taken his side of the question, though men of good reading, have not been able to produce any thing about it, but their own affirmations. It is not to be doubted, but every good Village of the Jews had a Synagogue, as every Parish with us hath a Church; and great Cities had many Synagogues, as our great Towns have many Parishes; and *Jerusalem* particularly is said to have had 480. But that every Village-Synagogue had supream authority in matters Ecclesiastical, and no dependance upon any other Court, or the chief officers of the City Synagogues, is very unlikely. For so many Independent and Co ordinate Officers could never without a miracle have preserved themselves one year under one National communion; And in those great Cities where the Jews had many Congregations, it cannot well be conceived that every one had supream authority, but that there must be some Chief or Council, to which all those Synagogues were subject. This is most likely, because common order and National agreement cannot well subsist without it. I know there are some great men (x) have been very positive on the other

(x) Grot. de jure sum. pot. c. 11. Gotof. in l. 2. de Cod. Theod.

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(x) Grot. de jure sum. pot. c. 11. Gotof. in l. 2. de Cod. Theod.

side, and have asserted the Independence of every Synagogue, that every such Assembly had a chief Officer answering to our Bishops, and all co-ordinate and of equal authority. But for all this no evidence is produced; and when learned men speak without book about distant matter of fact, their authority is but small; for then they do not speak from their knowledge and learning but their affection. The Scriptures of the old Testament give no directions concerning Synagogues, and do not so much as mention those Assemblies. From whence some have concluded, that in those times there were no such religious Assemblies among the Jews. In the new Testament we have frequent mention of them, and sometimes their Officers are named; but how they were ordered in respect of one another, and of general Communion, the new Testament does not give the least hint. Nay, as to this matter the writings of the Jews are not plain; and though they were, yet they taste too much of the fable, to be depended upon. Great men may guess and affirm according as they stand affected; but when all is done, this matter is still in the same obscurity for want of sufficient evidence. After the establishment of Christian Religion, we find general Officers of the Jews endued with the power of Excommunication and Absolution; but that every Village or City-consistory had that power then, we do not find; and for ought appears, they might have no more power than our Church-wardens and Vestries. Nay, in the complaint the Jews make to *Ar-*
cadius

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eadius and *Honorius*, (y) that the civil Officers had restor'd to Communion several, whom the Primates of their Law had cast out, without the consent of those Primates; the power seems to belong chiefly to these, and they too derived their Jurisdiction, not from the Synagogues, but from the Patriarchs, by whom they were appointed. And this Invasion of the Imperial Officers is represented not as an injury to the Vestries of Village or City Synagogues, but only to these Primates, whose office was of greater compass than the inspection of a single Synagogue, as appears from the last of those Laws cited in the margin; where we are informed, that upon extinction of the Patriarchs these Primates succeeded to all their power

But while I was thinking of the learned men who treat of this matter, I had almost forgot our Author, who tells (z) us, That something will appear from the seats of their Consistories. Let us therefore attend: *In Cities of less than sixscore Families, they plac'd their Consistories of three. In Cities of more than a hundred and twenty Families, the Courts of twenty three.* Maimon. in Sanedr. c. 1. Sect. 5. Seld. de Synedr. l. 2. c. 5. *And it is well known that many of our Country Towns with their Precincts have more than 120 Families; and our lesser Villages are as great as the Cities in the lower account.* They must be very sore distress'd, who repair

(y) L. 8. de Jud. Cœli & Sam. l. 15. de Jud. l. 29. Codefr.
 (z) Prim. ep. p. 48.

to *Rabbins* for propriety of expression, or evidence of Antiquity. In *Maimonides* his language it seems, a place that had not 120 Families, was a City. And what if it had but three? It was sufficient to furnish a Triumviral Consistory, and therefore may pass for a *Rabbinical* City. But *Cunens* (a) who lov'd to speak properly, takes offence at this expression, and opposes the authority of *Aristotle* to that of *Maimonides*, that such a place neither is, nor ought it to bear the name of a City. But *Maimonides* may be excus'd, because he followed his Fathers of the *Talmud*, from whence all the fabulous accounts of the ancient *Jewish* Polity have been deriv'd. Our Legends and forg'd Decretals do as much represent the state of the Primitive Church, as that *Jewish* Rhapsody does the state of the *Jewish* Synagogue or Temple. But the Authors of these Forgeries being profoundly ignorant of what was Ancient and Primitive, drew the face of antiquity with some features of their own times. Hence it is, that the *Jewish* writers speaking of those times when their Nation and their Temple stood, drop unawares several passages that agree better with the state of their dispersion than establishment; and of this, the place alledg'd by our Author about Consistories and Cities, gives a plain instance. For if we consult Jo-

(a) Cun. de R. P. Hebr. l. 1. sc. 13. Ego vero Aristoteli assentior, ne quidem eam esse civitatem. — Civitas nomen amittit, modus si desit.

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sephus, we shall find that *Judea* before the last war that ruin'd it, was inferior to no Country in the World for number of People; their Cities swarm'd with men, and there was scarce a Village that had not many thousands. Compare therefore this rule that appoints Consistories in Cities of sixscore houses, and a triumvirate in Cities that have yet fewer Families, with the true state of that Nation; and you cannot but loath so gross and ill contriv'd a fiction. But if you consider the Jews in their dispersion; even *Maimonides* his way of speaking will be proper; for there might be very great Cities, where the Jews had not a hundred Families; and they might retain so much of their old discipline, as to order some sort of Consistory in every City: and yet the estimate of their own Cities ought not to be taken from a miserable Synagogue they might make when they were sojourners in a strange Country

(b) *Egyptian* Cities come next after the *Rabbinical*; and our Author would have us take notice, that *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of three thousand Cities in *Egypt*, not to take notice of more than six times as many, which *Pliny* says were sometimes in the *Delta*. The *Egyptian* Priests spar'd no figures to set out either the antiquity or the greatness of their Country; and may be suspected to exceed as much in the number of their Cities, as they did in that of

(c) Prim. ep. p. 48.

their years. I will not now insist upon the disabling of his evidence, but proceed to consider the passage of *Diodorus*. And here, if at any time I have diminish'd the number of Cities produc'd by our Author, I am content to make him ample amends, and to admit the emendation of Sir *Jo. Marsham*, (c) who instead of three, will read thirty thousand Cities. But then it must be observ'd, that all the Villages of the Country came into the reckoning. It was not because this Author could not distinguish between a City and a Village, that he thus speaks; but only to follow his Author, who being a Poet, (d) and setting out the greatness of *Ptolomy's* kingdom, had more regard to the magnificence than the propriety of his Expression; and by a licence which Poets take, made all the Towns in *Egypt* Cities. The same Historian in that place shews he could speak properly about this matter, when he tells us that he had found in the sacred Record, that *Egypt* in ancient times, when it was more populous than under *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, had 18000 Cities and considerable Villages. Now to apply this to our Authors design, which I ought ever to have in view, though he himself seems often to forget it; there were according to old accounts, so many thousand Cities in *Egypt*, and consequently there ought to have been as many Bishops; but it seems the Apostle did not un-

(c) Chron. can. p.397. Scribe. *τρικμυρίων*. (d) Theocr. dit. 17.

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desand κατὰ πόλιν, in every City, according to the way of the Egyptian Priests, or a flattering Poet, but according to the proper and receiv'd signification of the word. And therefore in Egypt, instead of many thousands of Bishops, we never find above a hundred when the Country was generally converted, and before the alteration of the pretended Primitive Episcopacy can be pretended. But to proceed.

(e) In the tribe of Juda were a hundred and fourteen Cities; in half the tribe of Manasséh 60, and in other tribes proportionably. It must be confess'd, that in the time of Josuah small places were called Cities; but in our Saviours time it was otherwise, for the Evangelists distinguish not only between Cities and Villages, but (f) between Cities and large Towns: And Josephus mentions Villages so great, as to have some 7000, some above 10000 inhabitants, and yet for all this styl'd Villages. Now when Bishops were settled in that Country, it was not according to the number of Josuah's Cities, but of those properly so. For generally speaking, the Bishops were order'd in Cities, and therefore their number as proportionable to these. For about the middle of the sixth Century all the Bishops of the three Palestines were but five and forty, as appears from their Subscriptions (g) in the Council of Jerusalem, those who were absent subscribing by

(e) Prim. ep. p. 48.

(f) Καὶ πόλεις.

(g) Anno. 536.

their

their proxies, and yet among these some seem to be without the *Palestines*; for the Bishop of *Aradus* subscribes there, and he of *Petra*, and some others. Now it does not appear that ever there were more Bishopricks in this Country from the beginning of Christianity, and perhaps not so many; for *Parembolæ* had a Bishop in that Synod, which was erected (*b*) to an Episcopal seat not long before.

(*i*) In *Crete* there were 100 Cities, and therefore call'd *Hecatonpolis*. *Homer* (*l*) who is the only witness for these 100 Cities, happens to differ from this reckoning in another place, and makes them but 90. *Strabo* (*m*) and *Eustathius* (*n*) take great pains to reconcile this difference; but for my part I am satisfied with what *Didymus* (*o*) has observ'd, that the Poet is not to be understood of any definite number, but intends only to say that there were many. And if twenty had been as necessary for a verse as the other numbers, the rest of those Cities had been in danger of being demolish'd; for Poets can raise or destroy Cities with more ease than the greatest Princes in the world. But *Titus*, who was directed by *St. Paul* to appoint Bishops in the Cities of *Crete*, could not without revelation find out half this

(*b*) Euthym. vita. ap. Coteler. Mon. p. 238.

(*i*) Prim. ep. p. 49. (*l*) Hom. Iliad. B. Odyss. T.

(*m*) Strab. l. x. (*n*) Eustath. in Iliad B. (*o*) εἰς ἑρπιδίως ἢ πλείους ἐχέταν ὧν ἀγτὶ ἢ πολλὰς. Did. in Odyss. T.

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Century of *Homer's Cities*; for they had been lost long before; nay some of those mention'd by the Poet, as the chiefest of the Island, were not to be found in *Strabo's* (p) time. *Miletus* and *Lycastus* were destroy'd and their Territories seiz'd by *Lyctus* and *Cnossus*. And whatever Cities there had been there of old; yet in the middle of the fifth Century the whole Island had but eight Bishops, as appears by the subscriptions of their Synodical Epistle (q) to *Leo*. As for the other instances of this paragraph, from *Laconia*, *Epyrus*, *Palus Pomptina*, and the 1200 Cities of Gaul; they are discharg'd with their company, and must take the same common answer.

But our Author not content to bring down the pride of Cities so low, as to make our market-Towns and Villages equal to them, is resolv'd at last to reduce them to their first elements, and to make them inferior to some single houses. (r) *Cities they had of old little bigger than some houses, as that of Nero in Suetonius, The building about his Fishponds were like Cities. Circumseptum edificijs ad urbium speciem.* If our Author intended to be witty, it is but a poor jest; but if he be serious in this way of proof, it makes a Comedy. For what he cites, does not disparage Cities, but represent that house as monstrously vast, and beyond all measure extravagant. How can Cities

(p) *Strabo* l. 10. (q) *Ep. Episc. Cretæ ad Leon.*
ad *Calum*, *Conc. Chalced.* (r) *Prim. ep.* p. 49.

be diminish'd by this comparison, when this house (s) reach'd from the *Palatium* to *Esquilia*, and had a *Portico* three miles long. It was a building that threatn'd to swallow all the City of *Rome* and the neighbouring Country.

*Roma domus fiet : Vejos migrate Quirites.
Si non & Vejos occupat ista domus.*

To the same effect *Salust* and *Seneca* are brought in by our Author, (t) complaining of the luxury of their age in building: *That they had divers Houses comparable to Cities, and some private Houses exceeded the dimensions of Cities.* But still this is not to lessen Cities, but to expose the prodigious greatness of those Houses. Besides this way of speaking is seldom without Hyperbole, and not to be examin'd by rule and compass; for in such exaggerations many things may be compar'd that are far from being equal. But to make all sure, he tells (u) us, *They accounted it an excessive great House which took up four Acres; as would seem by that of Valerius Maximus, Anguste se habitare putat cujus domus tantum patet quantum Cincinnati rura patuerunt; when three of his seven Acres were gone.* It is doubtless a very great House that takes up four Acres; but that it should seem so from this passage, is very hard to conceive, unless *Anguste habitare* should signifie in English to

(s) Suet. Nero. c. 81.

(u) Prim. ep. p. 50.

(t) Prim. ep. p. 50:

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have an excessive great House. It seems therefore to those who understand a little Latin, that *Valerius Maximus* took such Houses as took up but four Acres, as an inferior and moderate extravagance, in comparison of the immensity of other buildings.

At last we are come to particulars. (x) *Emporia* a City of the Greeks in Spain was less than half a mile in compass, by *Livy's* account. This *Emporia*, (y) which belong'd to the Greeks, was but a small part of a great City that had (z) three miles in compass, only the Greeks dwelt in this quarter, and the Spaniards in the rest; they were encompass'd by one common wall without, but they were separated by another within; and after some time the partition was taken away, and they liv'd promiscuously. There was (a) a City of the *Parthians* upon the *Tigris*, made up of three Cittadels exceeding strong, each having a wall of its own; if our Author had found but the name of one of these, we should in all likelihood have found it among his diminutive Cities. At this rate we may have a City of Jews in *Rome*, because they have a quarter there, and at some times are shut up and separated from the Romans.

(x) Prim. ep. p. 50. (y) Δίπολις δὲ ἐστὶ κοινὸν ὅμοις περίβολον ἔχων—τῷ χειρὶ δὲ ἐς ταυτὸ πολίτευμα συνήλθον. Strab. c. 3. (z) Hispanis retractior a mari trium P. P. in circuitu murus erat. l. v. Dec. 4. l. 4. (a) Πύλαις κράτιστον ἔρυμα τρεῖς ἀκρεῖς ἔχουσα, ἐκείνην ἰδίῳ τείχει τετελειωμένην ὥς ἐν τριπολὶν εἶναι. Strab. l. 16.

(b) *Phaselis* is the next, the character of which we are to take from *Lucan*, who speaking of it when *Pompey* fled thither, says it contained not so many souls as *Pompey's ship*, and yet it was an *Episcopal City*. It is well, our Author does not insist to have it an *Episcopal City* in *Pompey's* time; for soon after it seem'd considerable enough to deserve that dignity. It had suffered much in the *Isaurian* wars, and had been taken by *Servilius*; and from hence it was, that the City was so weak at that time. But as it was one of the chiefest places of that Country before those wars, as *Florus* (c) and *Eutropius* (d) represent it; so soon after the time of which *Lucan* speaks, it recovered it self so well as to be accounted a very considerable City. *Strabo* (e) observes of it, that in his time it had three Ports or Havens, and was a considerable City. And least it may be thought, that the word which *Strabo* uses, and I render *considerable*, signifies but an ordinary common place, let him explain himself. When he speaks (f) of *Gortyna* in *Crete*, he takes notice that it had a *considerable Circuit*; and then explains himself, that it was fifty furlongs, i. e. above six miles round. And that it was not a mean Town, when it became a Bishop's seat, we may learn from the old Geographer (g)

(b) Prim ep. p. 50. (c) Validissimas urbes eorum Phaselin, &c. *Flor.* l. 3. c. 6. (d) Lyciæ turbes clarissimas, in his Phaselidem. *Eutrop.* l. 6. (e) ἑστὴν φασελίδος τῆς ἐκ τῆς λιμνῆς, πόλις ὑψηλότατος. *Strab.* l. 14. (f) ὑψηλότατον ἐξεπλήρη κύκλον ἢ σαδίων. *Strab.* l. 10. (g) *Vet. orbis Descrip.* ed. Jac. Goufr. Anno 1628.

publish'd by *Gotofred*, who reckons it among the chief Cities of that Country in his time, which the Editor conceives to have been in the reign of *Constantius*.

(b) *Cucusus* a City (the civility of whose Bishop, *Chrysostom*, when he was there banished, commends) was (i) not so good as a Market-Town. That it had no Market while *Chrysostom* was there, proceeded not from the meaness of the City, but from its being besieged by the *Isaurians*, and the famine that happened there at that time, as *Palladius* (l) relates. *Sasima*, says our Author, was no better, though it pass for a City. He has mustered this already among his Villages. It never had a Bishop before *Gregory*, but belonged to *Tyana* from which it was distant 32 miles, as we are informed by *Antonine's Itinerary*. (m) *Aradus* in *Strabo*, and *Antaradus* in *Pliny*, were Cities of seven furlongs. *Pliny* confounds *Antiradus* with *Aradus*, as *Vossius* (n) has observed; so it is but one City, to which that narrow Circuit belongs. But notwithstanding this small compass, I am afraid there is no Market-Town in the three Kingdoms can equal it for force and number of Inhabitants. What they wanted in compass they made up in height, and built (o)

(b) Prim. ep. p. 51. (i) μήτ' ἀγορὴν μὲν ἔχει ἢ πόλιν. Chrys. ep. 13. (l) νεκρὸν καὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσαυρῶν πολιορκουμένην. — ἐρθασε μάλα λιμὸς τὴν χώραν ἐκείνην. Pallad. vit. Chrys. p. 94, 96. Ed. Rigot. (m) Prim. ep. p. 51. (n) Voss. observ. in Pomp. Mel. p. 202. (o) Τοσαύτη δὲ ἡ ὑψανδρία ὥστε πολυπύργος δοῦναι τὰς ἀκροάς. Strab. l. 16. Etiam supra aliena testā sedem ponere licet. Pomp. Mel. l. 2. c. 7.

one House over another, and in the language of the Scripture were raised up to Heaven. In the time of the *Greek-Syrian* Kings they were so powerful, that they had what terms they pleased from those Monarchs; and among others, gained this point so seldom granted even to the greatest Ally, that they might receive all the fugitives of *Syria*. And in *Marc. Antony's* time, this little nest was so strong in People, that they had resisted the force he had sent thither to gather Contributions, and in that quarrel destroyed (p) four Cohorts of *Romans*; and *Curtius Salassus* who commanded them, they burned alive. At the lowest reckoning four Cohorts must have considerably above two thousand Soldiers: For if the first was there, which was call'd the *Milliaria*, that alone had above eleven hundred foot and 132 horse; (q) each of the other had above six hundred horse and foot. Now four of such Cohorts is such a force, that I believe a Market-Town or Village of ours would not think advisable to attempt. Besides, this little place in old times had a King after the manner of the *Phœnician* Cities. (r) But I will not depend upon this, because I am not sure; but according to our Author's notion and that of his party, a King may be under the same limitation for Territory as a Bishop. For in the Infancy of civil Government Kings had but small Dominions,

(p) Euseb. Chron. Olym. 184. Dion. Cass. l. 48;

(q) Veget. de Re Milit. l. 2. c. 6. (r) Strab. i. 16.

when

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when *Abraham* and his three hundred Shepherds could defeat five together. *Nazianzum* is the last instance of a small City; but how small, or what proportion it held to our Villages or Market-Towns, we do not learn from our Author; and therefore having no Evidence to give in to our Author's purpose, it is dismissed for the sake of *Gregory*, whose name and merit has preserved the memory of his City.

Now to prevent great and common mistakes about ancient Bishopricks, our Author (s) is pleased to make this acute observation, that there were Cities of several sorts and dimensions. It is strange no Critick could observe so much before to prevent those great mistakes. Those Cities that were six furlongs in compass or under, are called (t) little, such was *Pæanium* in *Ætolia*. This is little indeed, as dwarfs among men, very rare, and of no great use, but to admire for rarity of example; and therefore what is so much below the common size, is not likely to be of any great use to shew the compass of ancient Bishopricks. But to proceed.

(a) Those that had above six furlongs in Circuit to twelve or thereabouts, pass for (b) middle-sized Cities. So *Antioch* upon *Mæander* is μέτρια πόλις. *Strab.* l. 13. So was *Jessus* in *Polybius*, which was but ten furlongs. This Remark stands in need of farther confirmation. For of that *Antioch* which is said to be an ordinary City, no

(s) *Prim. ep.* p. 51, 52.

(a) *Prim. ep.* p. 52.

(t) πόλις μικρά.

(b) μέτρια πόλις.

Author gives the Circuit. So that whether it were ten or fifteen or twenty furlongs, is unknown. *Jassus* was indeed but ten furlongs; but whether to be reduc'd to the little or the middle sort, no ancient Author has directed. But this is to be made out by what follows. *Those which had sixteen furlongs in circumference or near it, and so upwards, were accounted great Cities: For some of their prime Cities and Metropoles of Countries were no bigger. Nice the Metropolis of Bythinia being (c) but sixteen furlongs in compass. No larger was (d) Famagusta the chief City in Cyprus, built in the place of Constantia, the ancient Metropolis of that Island. About that bigness was the great and famous Tyre of old, before it was taken by Alexander; for he having joyn'd it to the continent, and upon its recovery not content with its ancient bounds, had much enlarged it, (e) yet it was but 22 furlongs in compass. Sidon was (f) of the like size with Tyre. New Carthage, (g) the principal City in Spain, while the Carthaginians bore sway there, was but twenty furlongs when largest; it might be less than sixteen when contracted. It signifies little to the main question, what sort of Towns might be accounted great in the East before Alexander, or in Spain in the days of Hannibal; because it was long before the Institution of Bishops, and it was before the great*

(c) ἐκκαταστάσεις ὁ περιβόλος. Strab. l. 12.

(d) Sands. Trav. p. 210. (e) Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

(f) ἐνδομυρὸν ἀντὶ τῶν τῶν μέγεθος. Strab. l. 16.

(g) Polyb. l. 3.

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improvement of the World as to Cities, by the *Macedonian* and Roman Conquests. *Thucydides* (b) comparing the state of old *Greece* with that of his time, observed a very great improvement since the famous expedition to *Troy*; and thought that *Micana*, which was the chief City in *Homer's* Catalogue, would be but a small Town compared with the Cities of *Greece* in his time. The improvement of Cities in other Countries happened to be later; for most of the great Cities of the East were rais'd by the successors of *Alexander*, and bear the names of them or some of their families. Hence we have so many *Antiochs*, *Seleucias*, *Apameas*, *Laodiceas*, *Ptolemais*, *Demetrias* and *Alexandrias*, in all parts of the East, from their gratitude to their common master; and all these, Cities of the first magnitude, and much surpassing the old ones of those parts. After these the Roman Conquerors came, and by the greatness and number of their Colonies, and the magnificence of their Cities, made ample amends for the desolations of their Armies. And when that vast Empire had settled, and the Emperors betook them selves to build and people Cities instead of destroying them; then were Cities at the height for magnificence and greatness, and number of Inhabitants. And to compare our Villages or Market-Towns, or indeed our Cities, with those of the Empire, argues a strange ignorance of those times, or a great presumption that all other people are ignorant enough

(b) *Thucid.* l. i.

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(d) Sands. Trav. p. 210. (e) Plin. l. 5. c. 19.

(f) ἐν ἀντιόχῃ; αὐτὴ ἡ τὴν τὸ μέγεθος. Strab. l. 16.

(g) Polyb. l. 3.

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(b) *Thucid.* l. 1.

to be so grossly imposed upon. For it is as absurd to compare our Burroughs, or the generality of our Cities, to the Cities of the Roman Empire, as it would be to compare *London* with old *Rome*, or *England* with the Roman Empire, or the reading of Mr. *Clerkson* with that of *Plutarch* or *Pliny*.

After the Roman Empire had been torn in pieces, and divided between barbarous Nations, there was a new face and order of things. The *Barbarian* humor had something wild and fierce in it, that would not agree with the way of living in Cities, and therefore the old Cities soon became desolate. The Roman Provinces, which were nothing else, but so many combinations of Cities, all the Country being divided between them for Territory, were divided into Counties instead of Cities. The people were forced to resort to the Castle of the Count for Justice; and the wild way of life in scattered habitations returned again. And although in this part of the World we are much recovered from that barbarity, and may have some Cities not inferiour to the Roman greatness; yet in general our Towns and Cities are much below those of old times. Nor can they well be otherwise, since they stand upon much narrower foundations as to their Constitution, than the Greek or Roman Cities. For our Cities are but so many exempts from the jurisdiction of the County, and have seldom any Jurisdiction half a mile beyond the walls, and besides are generally but an Assembly of Tradesmen. Whereas the Roman Cities were upon another bottom, every one having a Territory,

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ritory, as it were a County belonging to it, not only under the Jurisdiction of the City Magistrate, but divided between the City Inhabitants, who were the Lords of the adjoining Country. And therefore it is reasonable to judge, that Cities of this kind would naturally become greater than ours, having so much greater encouragement and means of increase. What is here only said, and in short, shall be proved at large in another Chapter; where I shall consider what is alledged by our Author concerning the Territories of ancient Cities. In the mean time I will reply to the Instances of great Cities with small circumference; although what is already said may be sufficient to excuse me from any farther labour about this matter, having shewn already, how little pertinent it is to the present question.

The way which our Author takes of measuring Cities by their Circumference is very gross and uncertain, and has been exposed long ago by *Polybius*, as a vulgar conceit, proceeding from the ignorance of the first principles of *Geometry*. *Most people*, says he, *(i)* *judge of Cities by their Circuit; and if one should say that Megalopolis which is fifty furlongs in compass, is not half so great as Lacedæmon that is but forty eight, his discourse will seem extravagant and incredible.* *Lacedæmon* (1) was of a round figure, and so more comprehensive. *Megalopolis* was irregular and skirting. So when our

(i) *Polyb.* l. 9. p. 777.

(1) τῆς γὰρ Σπάρτης τῆ μὲν πόλεως ὅλην γῆματι περιφερέας ὄντας. *Polyb.* l. 5. p. 504.

Author fancies he has found a Village of equal Circumference to an old City, he may be much mistaken, if upon this score he thinks he can demonstrate, that the Towns are of equal bigness.

Now the best way (*m*) of judging of the greatness of a City is not from the Circuit of the walls, but from its force and multitude of Inhabitants. For it is not the space of ground on which it stands, but the people that render it great. For many Towns of a small compass have so swarm'd with people, that they have surpass'd Cities above three times their measure, in real greatness. Such was *Aradus*, of which we have given an account already; such was *Tyre* of old, if we should admit our Authors survey of it; for it fill'd the World with its Colonies. *Carthage*, and *Septis*, and *Utica*, and 300 Towns more in *Africk*, were Colonies sent from this little Hive, with which our Author thinks fit to compare our Market-Towns. And that we may not suspect these ancient accounts of the greatness of so small a place, as incredible; *Algiers* is sufficient to convince us of the possibility of the thing. For (*n*) this little Nest of Pirates, scarce a league in compass, is inferiour to few Cities in *Europe*, that are double to it in circuit; and though it have not 8000 houses in all, yet are the Inhabitants innumerable. *Ilium*, built by *Lyfimachus*, was

(*m*) ἐπὶ τὰς ὀφείας τῶν πόλεων, μᾶλλον σκόπιον ἢ τὰς ἀστάσεις. Thucid. l. 1. p. 4. (*n*) Recueil Histor. p. 1.

(*o*) for-

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(o) forty furlongs, or five miles in compass. *Gortyna* in *Crete*, which was but the second of the Island, was fifty furlongs about; and if we may trust the reading of that place in *Strabo*, (p) it had once above fourscore furlongs of wall, and that not enough. *Causabon* suspects a fault in the Copy, but if it be, it is an old one; for *Eustathius* (q) cites this place without the least variation. I might add several more of great Circuit, which were much inferiour to *Tyre* in force and reputation; so that upon this account it is no very sure way of judging of Cities by their Circumference.

There is yet another reason, why we cannot depend upon our Authors way of measuring Cities; because the Circumference generally mentioned by ancient Authors is only that of the wall, and then the Suburbs is omitted, which is sometimes little less than the City it self; (r) and in times of peace most thriving Cities grow out of shape, and run into Suburbs. The walls of *Rome* under the *Vespasians* were (s) but thirteen miles about, yet at the same time without the walls there were such great buildings as might make many Cities. And when all the Suburbs had been wall'd by *Aurelian*, (t) the compass of the wall was fifty miles. The circuit of the wall of *Alexandria*

(o) *Strab.* l. 13. (p) *Strab.* l. 10. (q) *Eustath.* in *Iliad.* B.

(r) *Dion. Halicar.* l. 4. p. 219.
 (s) *Plin.* l. 3. c. 5: *Expatiantia testa multas urbes addiderunt.*
 (t) *Vopisc.* in *Aurelian.* ut 50 prope milia murorum ejus ambitus teneat.

was reckon'd (*u*) about fifteen miles, but the figure was irregular and full of windings; so that the *Area* of the City might be less than that of *Rome* within the walls. But if we may depend upon *Vossius* (*x*) his Calculation, this City with its Suburbs was fifty miles in compass. In *Turky* the Suburbs (*y*) are generally bigger than the Cities, and altogether look like great Towns, which is the case of all thriving Countries secure from war, as the Roman Empire when it flourished was, excepting only the frontier Provinces. If we should take the measure of *London* from its walls, it might seem to those who judge of Cities after our Author's way, to be but an ordinary Town; especially if to lessen its compass, it should be thrown into a round figure. *Colen* might perhaps seem to such Judges the greater place of the two, because it has (*z*) near five miles in compass, which *London* would scarce reach in the same figure, which is a semi-circle. So uncertain is this way of judging of the greatness of Cities, and making comparisons between them, from their Circumference. I may now very reasonably think my self discharged from any obligation to make particular answers to the instances alledg'd. Yet because I know those of our Authors mind not very easie to receive satisfaction, I will take notice of every par-

(*u*) XV. M. pass. laxitate inserta. — Orbe gytrato laciniolosam. *Plin.* l. 5. c. 10.

(*x*) If. Voss. var. obser.

(*y*) Ipsis oppidis majora Suburbia. *Busbeq.* Ep. 1.

(*z*) Bert. de Urb. Germ. p. 90.

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ticular; and if I have not the good fortune to satisfy, I may perhaps leave them less room for cavil.

As to *Nice*, though it were the Metropolis of *Bythinia*, it was not the greatest City there; for *Nicomedia* was (a) much greater, and was after *Strabo*'s time made a *Metropolis* of the greatest part of *Bythinia*, though *Nice* still maintained a right of primacy or precedence; which gave offence to the greater City, and occasioned some tumults; for the composing of which *Dio Chrysostomus* employ'd his eloquence and authority. And if *Dio*'s complement to *Nice* was not beyond all measure extravagant, this City must have great Suburbs, or be much enlarged; for he tells (b) those Citizens, that their City was not inferior either for strength or greatness, to any of the renowned Cities. For if it were but two miles in compass, there were some above ten times as great, and the generality of Cities accounted great about twice as big, unless we may suspect the reading of *Strabo* as to the sixteen furlongs; for immediately after it is plain there is something amiss.

Famagusta is too young to be brought in Evidence for the measure of ancient Cities; for I do not know that it is mentioned any where before the Holy War, (c) and could not be very long before, because *Constantia* in whose

(a) *Nicomedia, Bythiniae Praeclara. Plin. l. 6. c. 32.*
μεγίστη τῶν ἐν Βυθυνίᾳ πόλεων. Pausan. l. 5. (b) *Dion.*
Chrys. Or. 39 & 38. κατὰ τὴν Ἰσχυρὴν καὶ μέγιστον ἑσπεμῶς
ἠσπασμένη τῶν ὀπίσσω ἐκδοξάν. Dio. Or. 39. (c) *Ra-*
dulph de Dicet. inter X Script. p. 660.

but that it was improved, he does not give the least intimation: And *Pliny* (b) comparing its ancient Greatness and its Colonies with the condition of it in his time, intimates it to have fallen much from its ancient splendor; for now, says he, the place is famous only for its Purple. The greatness of it when it was taken by *Alexander*, may be best judged from the descriptions of the siege of *Diodorus Siculus*, (i) *Arrian*, (l) and *Quintus Curtius*. (m) It had eighty Ships of war, and Inhabitants innumerable. For when the Town was taken, there were 8000 killed, 30000 Captives, 15000 were saved by the *Sydonians*, a great number of women and children were sent to *Carthage* in the beginning of the siege. And now let any man judge whether this would not be accounted a great City in our days, and whether any of our Market-Towns or Cities besides *London*, can enter into comparison with old *Tyre*. As to the Circuit of this famous City, I must confess I am not well satisfied, because I cannot reconcile the descriptions of *Strabo* (n) and *Pliny*. (o) The first says the City is all an Island like *Aradus*, and the buildings of many stories, and higher than those of *Rome*; so that according to this Author, the whole Island was

(b) Nunc omnis ejus nobilitas conchylio & purpura constat. *Plin.* l. 5. c. 19. (i) *Diodor. Sic.* l. 16.

(l) *Arian. Exped. Alex.* l. 3.

(m) *Q. Curt.* l. 4.

(n) *Strab.* l. 16. Τύρος ὅλην νήσον συνάκυσμένην περι-
κλινούσας ὡς περ Ἀκρόδος.

(o) Circuitus xix. M. P. est intra Palætyro inclusa. Oppidum ipsum xxii. Stadia obtinet.

taken up by the City : The relations of the siege seem to agree with this, that the walls of the Town reached to the Sea on all sides of the Island ; for all the attacks were made out of the ships, and there seems to be no ground without the walls for the besiegers to lodge themselves on. Yet *Pliny* tells us that this Island, taking in old *Tyre*, was nineteen miles in compass, and yet the City but two and twenty furlongs. I cannot dissemble my suspicion of this place, though the Criticks think fit to pass it over. Some mistake there is in the numbers, and the sense is not very perfect. But I know no remedy, since all Copies agree, and that ancient one, so much magnified by the *Paris* Editors, does not vary here from the rest. It might be but 22 furlongs, as our Author tells us it was, when enlarged. The Enlargement is a dream ; the compass of the Island and of the City was the same both before and since the taking of it by *Alexander* ; and though it might be but narrow in respect of Cities accounted great, yet the height of the houses made amends for the smallness of the *Area*, and made it equal to the chiefest Cities. And if we may compute this, as *Aristides* in his panegyrick does *Rome*, and measure it upward, we may say that here were many Cities laid one on the top of another.

If *Sidon* were as great as *Tyre*, it might be called a great City without a complement, and be much beyond the comparison of our Market-Towns and Cities ; yet this in the Roman times was fallen something from its ancient greatness. For before it had been taken by
the

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the *Persians*, it was the greatest of all the Maritime Towns of that Country, and was still wealthy when *Mela* (p) wrote his Geography, and at the same time equal to *Tyre*, as *Strabo* (q) observes.

New Carthage (r) was indeed the principal City in that part of *Spain* that belong'd to the *Carthaginians*; but the greatness of the place is not to be estimated from the compass of it, but from its strength and commodiousness of scituation, and number of Inhabitants. The Circuit was at first but 20 furlongs, which may contain space enough for a great City, and within this compass, it may be more considerable than many Cities of greater circumference. *Emporium* was a City of *Spain*, and larger than *Carthage*, for it was three miles about; but there was no comparison to be made between them as to their force and reputation. The greatness of this place may be best computed from the spoyl of it when it was taken by *Scipio*. The particulars are to be found in *Polybius* (s) and *Livy*; so that the Town it self, to use *Livy's* (u) expression, was the least part of the spoyl.

(p) Adhuc opulenta Sidon, antequam caperetur à Persis, Maritimarum Urbium maxima. *P. Mel.* l. 1. c. 12.

(q) *Strab.* l. 16.

(r) πείσχυα καὶ βασινεῖον ἐν τοῖς Καρχηδονίων τόποις. *Polyb.* l. 3. p. 236. πλῆθος ὡς ὅτι πάλιν ἐν διαφερόντως. *Polyb.* l. 10. καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν εὐκλείαν τῶν τόπων.

(s) *Polyb.* l. 2.

(t) *Liv.*

l. 34. c. 9.

(u) Ut minimum omnium Carthago ipsa fuerit. *Liv.* l. 36.

Our

Our Author makes after his manner a notable remark concerning this Town, that when *it was contracted it might be less than sixteen furlongs*. After it was taken and pillag'd, it might have been reduced into a Village; but then surely it ceases to be an instance of a great City. *Laodicea* was once a greater City than *New Carthage*; but it is now reduced to a solitary Mill, as Monsieur *Spon* (*) informs us; yet I hope we are not to take the measure of great Cities, from such poor and despicable remains.

Our Author having observed, that there were several sizes of ancient Cities, and the greatest he thought fit to mention being not three miles in compass, he comes to draw his conclusion, (y) that *their lesser Cities were but like our ordinary Villages; their middle sort of Cities were like our Market-Towns or Burroughs, (we have some that may compare with their great Cities) or like their larger Villages, such as Justinian noted in Pisidia, &c.* I was afraid when our Author began his observations concerning Cities, that the Ancients had no Villages at all, but that all places with them had been Cities. Now I am much better satisfied, when I find that they had great Villages as well as small, and some equal to our Market-Towns; so that in those days when the Cities were small the Villages were great, and many not inferiour to Towns of worshipful Title. Our Author did not consider well the consequence

(*) Voyage de Spon. T. 1. p. 262.

(y) Prim.ep.p.53.
of

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of this great secret, which he is pleased to reveal. For of those great and populous Villages there was not one in a hundred that had a Bishop, but were Parishes to the City Bishop, though his City might be as small as any of those dwarf Towns which our Author has produced. So that all his pains are come to nothing, that he had taken in diminishing the seats of the ancient Bishops; since there were great and small Villages then, as well as now, to make up their Dioceses. But let us see how the case of our Bishops differs from that of their Primitive Predecessors. According to the Inquisition made by Mr. *Clerkson* concerning ancient Episcopal seats, several of our Bishops are seated in Villages, others have Cities for their seats which are not much superiour to Villages; and the most of their Episcopal Cities are not greater than the chief of our Market-Towns. Nay *Canterbury* it self, the *Metropolis* of *England*, is not so great as the Burrough of *Southwark*. What consequence this may have in the reasoning and disputes of after-ages, I dare not divine. He that shall be so industrious as to pick this out of some scattered papers which time may render venerable, may like Mr. *Clerkson* acquire the reputation of a learned man and a very harmless Adversary.

It ill becomes us of this Nation to vye Cities with the *Roman* Empire, and much more absurd is it to set up our Villages and Market-Towns in competition with those *Greek* and *Roman* Cities that were distinguished by their greatness. For few that read can be ignorant that our Cities, generally speaking, are much inferior

feriour to those of our Neighbours. Those of *France* and *Italy* and *Spain* and the *Low Countries* do much excel ours; and yet there are none of these that will undergo the envy of such a competition. *Italy* has as many great Towns in proportion as any part of *Europe*, except the *Low Countries*; and yet how much is it fallen from its ancient greatness? About 1500 years ago it was all covered with Cities, and many of them great and populous; and to speak modestly of its decay, it seems not to have a tenth part of the people which it had then; and its Cities fallen at present as much short of those ancient ones, few only excepted, as the present *Rome* is from that which was mistress of the world. *France* may be now more populous and flourishing than when it was a *Roman Province*; yet the Cities are generally (2) inferiour to the old *Roman Colonies*. For while they are left to trades like the other Towns of *Europe*, and the Nobility live in their Castles in the Country, or in the Court, and the Country is separated by jurisdiction and interest from the Cities, it is scarce possible that they should equal the greatness of ancient times, when there was no Nobility but in Cities, no quality higher than a Citizen.

By these instances of Cities accounted great and yet of narrow compass, our Author would insinuate, that any thing beyond this measure of twenty furlongs was extraordinary; where-

(2) Recherches de Pasq. l. 2, c. 16.

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as Cities double in circuit to these were scarce accounted great. What proportion the old Cities of any reputation in story might bear to ours, will appear from the Examples I am going to produce, and a more just calculation of ancient greatness. I do not intend to follow the extravagance of some late Writers, who can speak nothing of ancient or remote people but miracles, and make more Inhabitants in one City, than half *Europe* can reckon. It is really a wrong both to men and to Cities, to give them a character that is incredible. Their real merit, which might be very great, and beyond competition, is lost, when dressed up in Romantick fashion, and raised beyond all belief and possibility. Wherefore in the account which I shall give of ancient Cities which became Bishops seats, I shall confine my self to the express testimonies of ancient Writers; and when any computation is to be made by guess, I will take care rather to err by an under-reckoning, than stretching too far.

Within the compass of the Roman Empire there were many Cities accounted vast, and these I think are not to be equalled by any which later ages have produced. These were the wonders of old time, and still remain so to us in the descriptions and ruins that remain of them. *Rome* was a prodigy of a City, and *Servius* (a) doubts whether it had not outgrown the appellation, and become of another species; so that it should be call'd a World

(a) *Serv.* in *Virg. Eclog.* 1.

rather than a City. The *French* vanity has transferred (*b*) the complement to *Paris*; and some of their Writers have been so wise, as to refine seriously upon the expression. The Hyperbole of *Lucan*, that if all the world would agree to assemble in one place, *Rome* was big enough to receive them, is not to be endured even in a Poet, and exceeds all bounds. But that which is certain of the greatness of this place, is that (*c*) it was fifty miles in circuit in *Aurelian's* time; that (*d*) it was throng'd with people; that their buildings were very lofty, and that in several stories they had often several families; that their Census before the Civil Wars between *Cæsar* and *Pompey* exceeded the numbers of any City that was then. And when the strangers and sojourners and servants are added, the sum will be excessive. After the Government had been settled under Emperors, the City still increased, though the number of the Inhabitants is not certain. For the three *Census* under *Augustus*, which reckoned above four millions of Citizens, and that under *Claudius*, that reckons near seven Millions, are not confined to the Inhabitants of the place, but take in all that had received the freedom of the City. In *Vespasian's* time there (*e*) happened a great mortality there, when for many

(*b*) *Andr. du Chesne. Antiq. de Vill.* (*c*) *Vopisc. in Aurelian.*
 (*d*) *Strab. l. 5. Voss. var. obser. Euseb. Chron. Olymp. 173. Lapis Ancyr. Euseb. Chron. Olymp. 188. Id. Olymp. 206.*
 (*e*) *Euseb. Chron. Olymp. 214.*

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days together there died ten thousand a day, as appeared by the *Ephemeris*.

There was a dispute between several Cities for the next place after *Rome*; I will name *Carthage* first, because it was the eldest. The circuit of it is not certainly delivered; but a little before it was taken and raz'd by the younger *Scipio*, it had (f) seven hundred thousand Souls; which is almost double to what Mr. *Grant* (g) computeth the people of *London* to be, though he take in all within the bills of Mortality, and perhaps exceeds in his calculation. This place after having lay'd long desolate, received new life, and a Roman Colony under *Julius Caesar*. And in *Strabo's* time who lived under *Tiberius*, it was equal to the best Cities in *Africk*: And in *Alexander Severus* (i) his time it contended with *Alexandria* for the second place after *Rome*, to which alone it yielded; but vy'd with the other for largeness and multitude of Inhabitants.

Alexandria has been mentioned already upon another occasion. It is describ'd by *Strabo*, (l) who gives only the greatest length of it, and mentions (m) the breadth where it was narrowest, to make out his figure of a Macedonian *Chlamys*; which Mr. *Clerkson* putting together, makes a circuit less than ten miles; whereas *Pliny* (o) who went upon better ground, makes

(f) *Strab.* l. 17. (g) *Grant's* obs. on the Bills of Mort.

(h) *Strab.* l. 17. (i) *Herodian.* l. 7. 13. (l) *Strab.*

l. 17. (m) *Χλαμυδαίης ὅμιλον. πολλὴ συνάγω, ἢ*

τὸ πλεονεξίας τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. *Strab.* l. 2. (n) *Clerks,*

in *Baxt. Ch. Hist.* p. 10. (o) *Plin.* l. 5. 9.

the compass to be fifteen miles; a greater circuit of wall than any City in *Europe* can shew. It was admired for the number of Inhabitants, and for a long time reckon'd the second City of the World.

In the next place, *Seleucia* upon *Euphrates* deserves to be taken notice of; for it has been from the beginning a City of the first rank. *Strabo* (p) joyns it with *Alexandria*, and makes it superiour to *Antioch*. And though we have no account of the largeness of it, yet we find (q) that when it was taken by *Lucius Verus*, it had five hundred thousand Inhabitants, which exceeds the sum of *London* according to Mr. *Grant*'s computation, by above a fifth part: But *Sextus Rufus* (r) wants a hundred thousand of *Eutropius* his reckoning. But be it as it will, 'tis enough to equal that City to any we have in *Europe*, if not to surpass them. Yet this City and *Ctesiphon* which was little less, had (s) but one Bishop in *Constantin* the Great's time.

Antioch has been ever in reputation for greatness and magnificence, but it seems to have been much increased since the rise of Christianity. *Strabo* (t) makes it inferiour to *Alexandria*; but *Dio* (u) the Orator, who flourished under *Trajan*, tells us it was four miles and a half in length, which is more than *Alexandria* had. It received many additions after that from the

(p) *Strab.* l. 16.
Ruf. Brev.
 l. 16.

(q) *Eutrop.* l. 8.
 (s) *Sozom.* l. 2. c. 9.

(r) *Sext.*
 (t) *Strab.*

(u) *Dio Chrys.* Or. 47. *ἡ δὲ τελευτῶσα*
ἡ πόλις τὸ μέγεθος

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Christian Emperors, of whom several had their residence there; and particularly that City is said to have been enlarged, and the walls of it carried on as far as the gate that looked towards *Daphne*. Without the gates it had great Suburbs; and when in *Justin* the elders time it was destroyed by an Earthquake, three hundred thousand men are said (x) to perish in that calamity, and yet a great number preserved. But whoever would know the character of this City, need only look into *Libanius* his Panegyrick, and then let him match it if he can with any new City he has met either in his Travels or his Reading.

Constantinople in the first design was equal to the greatest Cities after *Rome*, and in a short time was adjudged to have the second place, not only for dignity but greatness. *Ausonius* (y) pairs it with *Carthage*, as being the greatest next to *Rome*, and gives it the preference to *Carthage*.

*Constantinopoli assurgit Carthago priori,
Non toto cessura gradu, quia tertia dici
Fastidit, non ausa locum sperare secundum,
Et Constantino concedere cogit Elisam.*

I perceive Mr. *Clerkson*, (z) either out of mistake, or to try a small trick, has drawn in this great City to favour his paradox, that Cities

(x) Procop. Pers. l. 2. Evagr. l. 2. c. 12. Niceph. Call. l. 17. c. 3.

(y) Auson. Clar. Urb.

(z) Prim. ep. p 66.

accounted great at this time, were but ordinary Towns. For *Bizantium*, says he, was made by Constantine to be as large as two Cities at least.— And whereas it had been reduced to a Village by Severus, the Enlargement he gave it, was no more than the addition of fifteen furlongs to its former compass, as the said Zosimus (a) shews. That Author does indeed say, that Constantine did add fifteen furlongs; but it was not to the former compass of the old City, but to be measured directly beyond the old wall; that is, *Constantine* built his wall fifteen furlongs beyond the old one. Now if Mr. Clerkson could not discern the difference between adding fifteen furlongs to the compass, and building a wall so many furlongs beyond the old one, it is great pity he should ever undertake to measure Cities, or talk of the proportion they bear to our Villages and Market-Towns. The walls of old *Bizantium*, before they were pulled down by Severus, were (b) forty furlongs in circuit; but when the walls are removed fifteen furlongs further, the space may yield us a City much more than double to the old one; and this new one was effectually so. For its circuit is something short of thirteen miles, according to Gellius; (c) and they want but one furlong of fourteen miles according to the measure of *Laeticius Chalcocondulas*; though in the common

(a) οὐ πάσαι τέχναι ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας πρὸς τὴν πόλιν. Zosim. l. 2. c. 30.

(b) Dionys. Byz. (d) P. Gell. C. P. p. 15. De la Vall. Lett. de C. P. p. 30. Spon. Voyage. T. i. p. 201. 15. M.

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discourse of the people, it pass for near twenty. The present City has the same bounds with that of *Constantine*; for when it was first built it fill'd that *Isthmus* (d) as it does now. *Themistius* (e) speaking of the improvement of *Byzantium* by *Constantine*, What was once, says he, the hem of the City, is now the center and heart of it. But *Constantinople* would not be confined within those walls, as wide as they were, but soon run out into Suburbs. *Syca*, which is now *Pera*, was but a Suburbs to that City; yet it was (f) accounted it self a City in *Justinian's* time, and called by his name. *Hebdomum* was reckoned in the Suburbs, though seven miles from the City. *P. Gellius* does unfortunately make this a region of the City; and *Du Fresne* has followed him in the mistake; but they are refuted by the very Authors and instances they produce for their opinion. *Sozomen* (g) says expressly it was seven miles from the City, that *Theodosius* had built a Church there, which bore the name of *John the Baptist*. And *Socrates* (h) speaking of that Church, says it is seven miles from *C. P.* and not far from the Sea; for *Epiphanius* as soon as he landed, is said to have gone to *St. John's*

(d) ἀπολαμβάνει πάντα τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἀπὸ θαλάσσης εἰς θάλασσαν.

(e) *Zosim.* l. 2. c. 30. καὶ τὸ πάλαι κρῆσπεδον τῆς πόλεως νῦν ὁμφαλὸς. *Themist.* Or. 6. p. 162. Ed. Pet.

(f) *Steph.* de urb. in Σύγκρ. *Zosim.* l. 4. ἐν σέκκῳ τῷ περὶ τῆς πόλεως. *Topogr. C. P.*

(g) *Sozom.* l. c. 24. καὶ πόλεως ἐκδημῶν περὶ τὸ ἑβδόμῳ μιλίῳ ἡρώδους.

(h) ἐπὶ τῇ ὁσμίῳις ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως. *Socr.* l. 6. c. 12.

Church. In that place there was (i) a Palace called *Secundiana*, and a famous Tribunal, where the Emperors or *Cæsars* used to be declared. *Valesius* (l) has taken great pains to assert the situation of this place, and has done it so effectually as to leave no farther place for doubt. There were several other places that were out-parishes of *Constantinople*, (m) such as *Mariana*, *Pharmaceus*, or *Therapea*, the port called *Hieron*. *Hestia*, afterwards *Michaelium*, which was about four miles from the City by water, but twelve by land; and *Elaa* where *Sisinnius* the Bishop of *C. P.* had been Parish-Priest; for he was not Minister, says *Socrates*, (n) of any Church within the City, but in the Suburbs of *C. P.* which is called *Elaa*. To conclude, such was the increase of this great City, that *Sozomen* (o) does not stick to prefer it even to old *Rome*; and says, that by general consent it was concluded to exceed *Rome* in wealth and multitude of Inhabitants.

These may seem perhaps prodigious, and of no use in the present debate that takes in the generality of Cities; yet these had respectively but one Bishop at a time, except in time of

(i) Ammian. Marc. l. 26. Idatij Chron. (l) Vales.
in Addend. Not. ad Ammian. Marcell. p. 672.

(m) Soz. l. 2. c. 3. Theodor. l. 5. c. 3. (n)
ἐδευμάς δὲ ἐν τῇ πύλει ἐκκλησιῶν ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐν
παραστάσει τῆς Κ. Π. ᾧ ἐπώνυμόν ἐλαία. Socr. l. 7. c. 26.

(o) καὶ τοῖς σώμασι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι μείζονα ὁμολογεῖται
Soz. l. 2. c. 3.

schism, and then both parties agreed in this, that there ought of right to be but one.

Below these therefore we have another size of great Cities, which may be reasonably thought equal to the greatest now in Europe. *Athens* (p) was almost equal to *Rome* within the walls; and if we put the long walls that joyned the City to *Piræus* into the reckoning, (q) it will swell up the sum to above twenty miles. *Syracuse* (r) was 20 miles in circuit and equal to *Athens*, accounted (s) once the greatest of all the Greek Cities: And though it had variety of fortune, yet it continued for many ages the chiefest of *Sicily*. Old *Corinth*, before it was raz'd by *Mummius*, was a great and wealthy City; it was (t) eighty five furlongs, that is near eleven miles, in circuit, as *Strabo* reports not from vulgar estimate, but from his own survey, for he had traced and measured the old walls. In *Italy* there were Cities that seem to surpass these. *Milan* the next after *Rome*, and therefore sometimes called the second *Rome* of *Italy*, was not far inferior to that imperial City in the judgment of *Procopius*, (u) and *Aufonius*; (x) it still retains the Title of Great, and is now ten miles in compass, but much below its ancient greatness,

(p) Dion. Halic. l. 4. p. 219. l. 9. p. 624. (q) Strab. l. 6. (r) Plut. in Nic. (s) πόλιν μέγιστον τῶν ἑλληνίδων. Diod. Sic. l. 16. (t) Strab. l. 8. (u) Μετρίλογος πόλεων τῶν ἐν Ἑλλάδι παλαιῶν, μέγιστά τε μέγισται, καὶ πολυμενέστερα, παραπολεῖ πρέχουσα. Proc. Gotth. l. 2. (x) Nec junctis premit vicinia Romæ. Aufon.

as the ruins of the old buildings without the walls do still witness; but especially inferior to the old for number of people. For when it was taken by the *Goths* in *Justinian's* time, (y) there were three hundred thousand men put to the sword, the women not reckoned, who were preserved and made a Present to the *Burgundians* for their service in that siege. Next to this was *Aquileia*, a City of superlative greatness, (z) renown'd for being fatal to Tyrants. The compass of the walls was twelve, some say eighteen miles, besides great Suburbs mentioned by *Herodian*. *Ravenna* (a) was about this size, for it was made up of three Towns, and therefore called *Trigemina* by *Sidonius Apollinaris*. The *Classis*, which was the port; and *Via Caesaris*, which was all built, and three miles in length; and *Ravenna* properly so called. In *Gaule* there was *Treves*, which *Ansonius* (b) sets before *Milan*, and yet intimates that it was rather postpon'd than put too forward. *Arles* and *Tholonze* come into this number, the later of which is commended (c) for the great circuit of its wall and num-

(y) *Procop. Goth. l. 2. p. 143. Ed. Hæsch.* (z) Ἰταλίας μεγίστη. Ἀλώμεν, μέγιστον πάλαι ἰδίᾳ δὴμα πλουτέων. *Herod. l. 8. c. 4.* (a) *Cluver. Ital. Ant. l. 1. c. 28. Leand. Alb. Descr. d'Ital.* (b) *Dudum celebrari Gallia gestet. Treviricæq; Urbis solium. Anson.*

(c) *Coëtilibus muris quam circuit ambitus ingens. Quæ modo quadruplices ex se cum effunderet urbes; Non ulla exhaustæ sensit dispendia plebis. Muris, Civibus, ambitu tabernis. Et Sidoni, Te maris Eoi merces, & Iberica ditant. Auf.*

ber of Inhabitants, so populous, that when it had lately peopled four Cities, it was not sensible of any loss of men. In the same Country *Narbo* was famous for the great compass of its wall, and for people and magnificence, and the trade of the World. To this Classe we might reckon *Nicomedia*, *Ephesus*, the *Cappadocian Casarea*, *Cyzicus*, (d) which with its own strength defended it self against *Mithridates* with an Army of an hundred and fifty-thousand men and a fleet of four hundred Ships. I might reckon many more of this sort ; but having not the skill of *Homer* to set off a Catalogue of Cities with variety of expression, I will not presume farther upon the patience of the Reader.

These instances may seem to be lyable to the same exceptions with the former ; for it may be said that these were rare in respect of the number of lesser Cities, and that not one in fifty was so great. It is confess'd, nor are they alledg'd with a design of persuading that the greater part were of this size ; but since these were frequent, and most Countries had some, it is reasonable to conceive, that when ancient Writers speak of great Cities, they may have some regard to these, and not be thought to magnifie such mean places as our market-Towns, when they had so many Cities like *London* or *Paris* in their view. Wherefore to come yet lower, there were Cities accounted great, that wanted half of the circuit of one

(d) Strab. l. 12.

of these. *Lacedæmon* (e) was a great City, tho' but six miles in compass; yet this was not the old *Lacedæmon* that contended with *Athens* for the Principality of *Greece*, for that had neither walls nor contiguity, but was built scatterdly after the manner of Villages, as *Thucidides* (f) describes it; but the City that *Polybius* represents was such as Tyrants had reduc'd it to. *Gortyna* was a great Town, tho' but fifty furlongs about. *Byzantium* (g) was but forty; new *Corinth* no more in *Strabo's* (h) time; *Ilium* was of that size. It would be endless to reckon Cities of this degree, since so many happen'd to have this measure, which were neither Metropoles of Provinces, nor any other way remarkable, as some of these Cities mention'd were not. Now, even these are accounted in our time great Cities. This is the compass of *Antwerp*, if *Pontanus* (i) was well inform'd; and *Colen* reckon'd a very great City wants of it; and I do not know whether any City of ours, besides *London*, will fill this girdle. About this pitch we may fix the point of greatness, so that what is below it, is not to be accounted great in respect of circuit; tho' it may happen, that in half this compass a great force of people may be contain'd. *Vienna* is accounted (l) among the chief Cities of the Empire, and yet it is scarce three miles in compass; yet for number of people is inferi-

(e) Polib. l. 9. (f) Thucid. l. 1. Liv. dec. 4. l. 4.
 Pausan. lac. l. 3. ib. l. 8. (g) Zosim. l. 2. (h) Stra.
 l. 13. (i) Pontan. Hist. Amstelod. (l) Dr. Brown's
 Descript. of *Vienna*. p. 133.

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or to very few. And after this manner Mr. *Clerkson's* riddle of little-great Cities is to be resolv'd. The size is but mean, and belongs to little Towns, but something accidental and extraordinary in such a bigness may happen to raise some few to a higher quality, than their outward prospect might challenge. The circuit of *Emporium* was three miles, and yet it is never reckon'd among the great Cities of *Spain*. *Phocæa*, one of the twelve Cities of *Ionian*, and the meanest of them, was little less. Mr. *Clerkson* calls this one of the greatest Cities of *Æolis*, but without any authority ; for *Livy* (n) who mentions the measure of it, observes no such thing. The meanness of this Town does sufficiently appear from the small assistance it could afford to *Miletus* (o) when Besieg'd by the *Persians*, which was but three Ships ; nor is there any account of its growing more considerable in after-times. Nor could it be reckon'd among the great Towns when it was Besieg'd by *Harpagus*, (p) since the Ships that were in Harbor were sufficient on the suddain to convey away all the goods and persons that belong'd to it. As for such small places, that sometime had borne the title of Cities, tho' they had but a mile or thereabout in circuit ; they are mention'd by ancient Authors with an exception to their title. So *Pausanias* (q) speaking of *Panopæum* an old City of *Phocis*, corrects himself in this manner, *If such a place may be call'd a City that has neither the ornaments nor the*

(n) *Liv. Dec. 4. l. 7.* (o) *Herod. l. 6.* (p) *Herod. l. 1.* (q) *Pausan. l. 10. p. 614.*

size of a City, for the walls were but seven furlongs in compass.

When Mr. Clerkson had endeavoured to shew, that the greatest part of ancient Cities was not to be distinguished from Villages by their measure, he enters (r) into an enquiry concerning the nature and constitution of a City, and what it is that makes it to differ from a Village; and he can find nothing but a wall, or some privileges, that can make a difference. For those Villages being walled, or having *ἰσχυρὰ τῆς πόλεως*, privileges of Cities granted them, became Cities without farther enlargement; so this sort of Cities far the most numerous, were but walled or privileged Villages. Although most ancient Cities were walled, yet did they not derive their title from their walls; for many places had walls that were never called Cities, and many great Cities were without walls. Lacedæmon (s) was unwalled for many ages by the direction of *Lycurgus*, and the famous *Numantia* (t) that defeated so many Roman Armies, had no walls. All the Cities of *Peloponnesus* (u) in *Arcadius* his time were unwalled, accounting themselves sufficiently fortified by the *Hexamilium*, or six-mile-wall drawn cross the *Isthmus*; and all the Cities of *Africk* dismantled (x) by the *Vandals*, did not presently lose their old denomination, or change their nature. It is then to the privileges or rights, our Author

(r) Prim. ep. p. 53. (s) Pausan. Lacon. Liv. l. 38.
 (t) Numantia sine muro sine turribus. Luc. Flor. l. 2. c. 18.
 (u) Zosim. l. 5. (x) Procop. Vandal. l. 1.

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speaks of, that Cities owe their dignity, whether they have enjoy'd them from their first foundation, or have been improv'd from Villages; but then there must be a competent greatness, such as may decently bear the title, otherwise it will look as absurd and ridiculous, as it was for *Caracalla* (y) who was of very low stature, to affect to personate *Achilles* or *Alexander* the Great. *Aristotle* (z) requires in every place that bears the name of City, a sufficient number of People, for an absolute and perfect communion of civil Life; for (a) as that is not to be called a Ship that is but a span long, so neither is that place to be accounted a City that has but few Inhabitants. He mentions some, who thought a great House and little City differed only in name; but he is too exact in his distribution of things into their proper kinds, to bear this loose way of speaking; for says he, a House or Family is the first sort, and as it were the foundation of civil society; a Village is but the increase, and as it were, the colony of the first house; and then (b) many Villages united by a full and perfect communion make a City. And in all his definitions of a City,

(y) Herodian. l. 4. § 16. (z) Ἄλλ' ὅτι καὶ πόλεις τὸ μέγαν.
 (a) Πλοῖον σθαμαῖον ἐκ ἑσῶν πλοῖον ὅλως, ὁμοίως δὲ πόλις ἢ μὴ ὅς ἐστιν ὁλίγων λίαν ἐκ αὐτῆς, *Arist. Pol. l. 7.* (b) Ἡ δ' ἐκ πλείονων καὶ μὴ κοινῶν τέλει, πόλις ἢ δὴ πάσης ἔχουσας τὴν αὐτὴν μέγαν, *Arist. Pol. l. 1.*

he makes (c) a multitude of Villages essential; and this multitude determin'd by such a sufficiency of strength, as may serve for the defence and security of that City, and the assistance of their neighbours in case they are invaded. So then his City requires a compleat strength for War, which no single Village can well pretend to; it requires a Country sufficient to maintain this society, and a strength to defend not only the Town, but the Territory. Now it would seem very strange, that *Aristotle* should be so little acquainted with the condition of Cities in his time, that when he defin'd the notion, he should shut out the greater number out of his definition; as he must do if they were no other than privileg'd Villages, or such as our Market-Towns with a magnificent Charter; for none of these in the state they now are, without any dependance, can answer the sufficiency that he makes indispenfable, and the principal part of his definition.

Hippodamus the *Milesian* (d) requires for his City ten thousand men; whom he distributes into three equal parts, the first to consist of Soldiers, the second of Husbandmen, and the third of Tradesmen. *Aristotle* finds fault with

(c) Πόλις, ἡ γενῶν καὶ κώμων κοινωνία ζωῆς πλείους καὶ αὐταρκείας. *Arist. Pol.* 1. 3. Πόλις οὗ τοῖσιν πολλῶν ἑαυτὸν πρὸς αὐταρκείαν ζωῆς, *Id.* 1. 3. Πόλις οἰκιῶν πολλῶν ὅτι καὶ χώρες, καὶ κλημάτων αὐταρκὲς πρὸς τὸ ἐκλεῖν. ὅταν γὰρ μὴ δυνατοὶ ᾖσιν τότε πυγᾶναι, διαλύσται ἡ κοινωνία, *Arist. Dece.* 1. 1. (d) *Arist. Pol.* 1. 2.

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the distribution, but not with the number; nor can it be judg'd extraordinary. For when *Timoleon* proclaim'd the freedom of *Syracuse* over all Greece to any that would remove thither, and fifty thousand men had come upon this invitation, he plac'd ten thousand of them in *Argyrinea*, recond as *Diodorus Siculus* (e) says, among the little Cities of *Sicily*. And *Myriandrus* a City that had its name from the number of those first settl'd there, is never mentioned among the greater Cities. And *Ægesta* accounted (f) among the smaller Cities of *Sicily* had 10000 in it when it was taken by *Agathocles*. *Plato* (g) would have five thousand and forty houses in his City, because that number is commodious for subdivisions; not because he would have his Commonwealth confined to that measure, for sometimes he would have as many Husbandmen; and other times he is so extravagant in multiplying his Citizens, that *Aristotle* thought no place on earth able to maintain them but the Province of *Babylon*, or if there be any other Country of so prodigious fruitfulness. Yet in the general, he (h) is neither for a great nor a little City, but one that is sufficient, and would have it grow no farther then, that it still may remain one. And when it has territories enough for its Sub-

(e) 'Εν δὲ ταῖς ἐλαττοῖσι πόλεσι ἐν αἷς ἡ τῶν Ἀργυρ.
Diodor. Sic. l. 16. (f) Diod. Sic. l. 20. (g) Plat. de
Leg. l. 5. (h) Μηδὲ μικρὰ ἡ πόλις ἔσται μηδὲ μεγάλη
ἀρκούντων τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ μὲν Plat. de R. P. l. 4.

sistence, to part with the rest, in case it had more, and not to retain a superfluous possession. Yet even of this moderate size, he expects (i) a sufficiency to defend themselves against the insults of their neighbours, and to assist those who are wrongfully assaulted. But to leave these Cities in the air, and to come to something more real.

The first (k) Cities of the Greeks were very small and numerous; but finding the inconveniency of having their strength thus dispers'd, and being unable to make any considerable defence apart, they thought it more advisable to make a few great Cities of these many little ones, and to make their strength more useful by bringing it closer together. So *Thesens* (l) perswaded the people of the little towns of *Attica* to remove to *Athens*. So *Argos* (m) grew by demolishing *Mycena* and *Tyrinthus*, and other neighbouring Cities. So *Epaminondas* perswaded the Arcadians to leave their small Cities, and to go to *Megalopolis*, which was made up of above thirty Cities. *Thebes* ow'd (o) its greatness to the same great person, who brought all *Beotia* in a manner into that City. And *Miletus* increas'd by the occasion of little Towns in *Troas* and *Aolis*. *Halicarnassus* (p) was rais'd by the accession of six small Cities of *Caria*. And *Alexandria* (q) in *Troas* drew in the same Cities and Castles

(i) Plat. de Leg. l. 5. (k) Arist. Pol. l. 5.

(l) Plut. in Thes. (m) Pausan. l. 8. p. 498.

(o) Dio. Chrys. Or. 46. (p) Strabo. (q) Strab. l. 13.

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that were about it. And to conclude, *Cassander* (r) prevail'd with the people of *Acarnania* to leave their little strong places that were numerous, and to betake themselves to a few large Cities for their more easie defence against their Enemies; and accordingly that Nation resolv'd it self into three great Cities, *Stratopolis*, *Sauria* and *Agrinium*. I might multiply instances of this sort without end; but these are enough to explain that sufficiency of measure that *Aristotle* requires as essential to a City, and to shew the vanity of those who pretend to demonstrate the measure and number of Primitive Bishopricks, from the multitude and smalness of Cities dissolv'd long before our Saviour's time, and reduc'd into a small number of more considerable Towns, as being better fitted for common safety and the ends of civil community.

As to the rights and priviledges by which Cities were distinguish'd from Villages, they were of two sorts, either such as concern'd Religion, or those that belonged to civil Government. The feasts and games and sacrifices were under the direction of the City Magistrate, and celebrated in Cities, whether all the Villages that were within the territory of those Cities did resort on such occasions;

(r) Συμβέβηεν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἢ μικρῶν πόλιν εἰς ὀλίγας πόλεις μετακλῆσαι ὅπως μὴ ἡ παρὰ πόλιν τῆς οἰκίας αἰνιγματῶσι ἀλλήλους; ἑστῆεν. *Diod. Sic. l. 19.*

and therefore *Dio Chrysostomus* (s) makes Festivals one of the characteristicks of a City. And then as to their civil Government, they had administration of Justice within themselves, and were subject to no other jurisdiction, as Villages were; for such as were of the resort of any City, were obliged to go thither for Justice, and were in all things subject to the City Magistrate; and if the Territory were very large, then some subordinate Magistrates were appointed in the Villages for keeping of the peace, and deciding of lesser actions. And it is observ'd (t) as a peculiarity in the Territory of *Elis*, that the country people had Justice administred at home, without the trouble of repairing to the City Courts, so that many of them did not so much as see their City in all their lives. Now the priviledges of our Cities, tho' they bear some resemblance to those of which I have been speaking, yet are they much short of them in respect both of fulness and extent of jurisdiction, which with us seldom reaches beyond the walls of the City; whereas in the Greek and Roman way of Government, a City had as it were a County belonging to it; so that our Cities are but exempts from the County, whereas those of ancient times were the Lords and the Judges of the Counties in

(s) Ταῖς ἑορταῖς καὶ τῷ δικάζειν αὐτοὶ καὶ τῷ μὴ παρ' ἑτέρου ἐξιστάμενος μηδὲ συνελθεῖν ἀλλήλοις, καθάπερ δῖμα καὶ οὐν. πᾶσι τέτοις συμπεράσιν πέφυκε τὸ φρόνημα τῶν π' α' γ. (t) Dio. Chr. Or. 39. Polyb. l. 4. p. 468. l. 113 & Decur. Cod. Theod.

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which they were seated. Such were the Cities of the Roman Empire when Christian Religion was first preach'd in them; and the Apostles or their successors who planted Churches, and appointed Bishops in the Cities where they preach'd, did not think fit to prescribe any new bounds, but accommodated themselves to the limits of the several Cities, which as they were very unequal, occasion'd the Christian Dioceses to become so too. But this made no quarrel in ancient times; for there were then neither Presbyterians nor Independents to call for new *Agrarian* Divisions in the Church of God. That therefore which our Author (u) affirms of ancient Cities, that they were but *priviledg'd Villages, and that a wall or something as inconsiderable* made the only difference, must proceed either from ignorance of the state of ancient Cities, or what is worse, from an intention to deceive. Nor yet do those who grant Bishops to lesser Cities, *leave themselves therefore without reason to deny them to Villages*; for the difference was more than a wall or a formality.

Our Author (x) goes on to confound Villages and Cities, and observes that *Bethlega is a Village in Josephus. But Jonathan having wall'd it, immediately after he calls it a City.* There were many Villages in the South of *Judea* and *Arabia*, that were not only as populous as ordinary Cities, but great Communities,

(u) Prim. ep. p. 54.

(x) Prim. ep. p. 54.

having a great number of Villages in their dependences, as I have observ'd already. *Armena* was an unwall'd place, till the inhabitants in their wisdom incompass'd it with a wall to keep them warmer, which may be the reason why to some it is a City, to others a Village. *Solinus* whom our Author cites for calling it a City, does not so much as mention it. *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny* name it among the Cities and Towns of the Country; but those who call it a Village, speak more exactly, notwithstanding it had a wall. So *Menippus* in his *Periplus* or *Voyage* calls it, and from him *Strabo* and the rest. (2) What our Author means by mentioning the wisdom of the people of this Village for building a wall about the Town, I cannot easily imagine, since of old it was proverbial for folly, (a) that those who built the walls of *Armena* had little to do. After this he mentions *Majuma* the Port of *Gura*, honour'd with the priviledg of a City for its forwardness in the Christian Religion. Yet (b) even this very place had several country Parishes and Churches belonging to it; and besides being an extraordinary case, and late, cannot be drawn into any consequence in the present question about the seats of the Primitive Bishops. *Cenchrea* by mistake is call'd a City by *Stephanus*, and our Author does worse than mistake, when he cites (c) *Strabo* calling

(2) Steph. in *Armene*. *Xenoph. Exp.* l. 6. Ἀρμενίας. (a) *Strab.* l. 12. (b) Τα ἀνέκτοτα ἐν γαλιεῖ ἐπὶ τῇ θυσιαστήριᾳ ἡ ἐπισκοπὴ. *Sozom.* l. 5. c. 3. (c) *Prim. ep.* p. 55.

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Nelias and many other Towns, both Cities and Villages in the space of three or four lines, and uses this as an argument to shew what little difference there is between a City and a Village; for these places had been Cities, but *Demetrius* (d) when he built a City, which he call'd after his own name *Demetrias*, he drew out the Inhabitants of *Nelias* and several other small Cities, to people his new Town, and so those places which were before Cities, became Villages to *Demetrias*, and when they chang'd their nature, they might well change their names. Our Author could not but see this; yet alas, it is given but to few Dissenters to be ingenuous and fair dealers.

That there were Bishops in small Cities is so well known, that Mr. *Clerkson* might have sav'd himself the trouble of proving it, and have presum'd so far upon the knowledge of his Reader; but since by taking upon him to make unnecessary proof of so plain a fact, he commits some gross mistakes, I do not think my self obliged to conceal them *Abydus* says he, (e) is *parva habitatio*; and for this cites *Strabo* (f) but he had not the fortune to know that this *Abydus* in *Egypt*, of which *Strabo* speaks, was never a Bishop's seat, at leastwise that it does not appear to have been; though a City of that name on the *Hellepont* had a Bishop, which I suppose was the occasion of our Author's mistake. For he who confounds Cities and Villages together, may

(d) *πολίτευας δὲ ἐῖς αὐτὴν σ. νομίζουσαι Νελίας, &c.*
 — αὐτὴ δὲ νῦν ἐστὶ κώμην τῆς Διμετριάδος. *Strab.* l. 9.

(e) *Prim.* ep. p. 55.

(f) *Strab.* l. 17.

well be allowed to confound two Towns of the same name. *Ascalon* because it was in *Sirabo's* time *πόλις μείζω*, and afterwards had a Bishop, is brought among the mean Episcopal seats; whereas this place had the fortune to improve so far, that in *Constantinus* his time (g) it was one of the chiefest Cities of *Phœnicia*, according to *Gotofred's* old Geographer. He might have spared likewise those Cities that were raised from Villages; since he has not the least intimation from ancient Writers, whether they were great or small. It is not likely that *Constantine* should (h) adorn a mean Town with his Mother's name, and that *Helenopolis* (i) the City should be no better than *Drepana* the Village; or that *Julian* (l) the Apostate should bestow his mothers name *Basilima*, to dignifie a Village belonging to *Nice*, and improve it no otherwise than by the Title of a City. And if to be raised from a Village to a City imply, that the place must be small, then *Constantinople* must pass for a mean place, because it was but a Village before *Constantine* raised it. Now though these Cities had been all as small as our Author would suggest, yet will they do him little service in promoting of Congregational Episcopacy; because there were several Bishops of small Towns who had large Diocesess, and particularly *Theodoret*, (m)

(g) Ἀσκαλὸν πόλις ἐξέχουσα. Geogr. Anon. Gotofr.

(h) Socr. l. 1. c. 18.

(i) Conc. Chalced. Act.

13.

(l) Ammian. Marcell. l. 25.

(m) Theol.

Ep. 32. ἡ πόλις κρηττέρα ἔρημος: ἔσα καὶ ἐλίγαι: ἐκλήτορες ἔχουσα. Id. Ep. 42.

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who confesses the meaness of his City, that it was almost desolate, and had but few Inhabitants; yet had a Diocese forty miles square, and 800 Churches under his care. But of this I shall be more particular in a more proper place,

(a) *It is taken for a Rule, says our Author, that where there is a Defensor Civitatis, there was a Bishop; and Justinian appoints such a Defensor, —not only of the great Cities, but of the less. — And there is a Law in the Code, that every City should have a Bishop, —without exception of little or great, but only two, Tomis and Leontopolis, which afterwards had its Bishop, and Tomis before.* He must be very unreasonable, who finds fault with this Rule. And now that our Author speaks reason, and plain things, God forbid he should be contradicted. When men who delight in paradoxes and singular fancies, happen to be in the right, it is a great sin to oppose them. Let every City have its Bishop, and such exceptions as custom hath prescribed, be allowed, till there be reason for a change. There is surely from this no hurt to the Diocesan way, nor any service done to Independent Congregations. Yet I cannot but take notice, that our Author, after his usual manner, stumbles here too upon plain ground; and the remark he thinks fit to make upon the exceptions in this Law, shews he did not understand it. *Tomis* he observes *had a Bishop before* this exception was made; as if the Law had suggested that

(a) Prim. Ep. p. 56.

that

that City had been without a Bishop, or annexed to another. Whereas on the contrary it says, (b) that *Tomis* had the care of other Cities of *Scythia*; for indeed all that Province of *Scythia*, though it had many Cities, had (c) but one Bishop, of whom *Tomis* was the place of Residence and the Title. What our Author adds to the same effect for Bishops in every City, from the ancient Comments on *Titus* i. and from *S. Cyprian* and *Origen*, is readily allowed without farther debate. But when he comes to his application, and says over the same things we have had so often before, that πόλις is used by the best Authors sacred and prophane to denote both a City and a Village, and that the Apostle would have such Bishops as were then instituted not only in Cities but in Villages;—and that it cannot with reason be questioned, that the Apostolical intention was for places no larger than our Burroughs or Market-Towns, yea in places no greater than our ordinary Villages, and that they designed a Bishop to be no more than the Rector of a Country Parish: He seems to me to affect to say these strange things over to himself, that they might become familiar by repetition, and the Importunity of affirming supply the defect of proof, of which nothing has been said by or dissembled, that has been hitherto produced. But he seems to suspect the sufficiency of what he had hitherto alledged, and therefore opens

(b) ὁ δὲ ἐπίσκοπος αὐτῆς ἐ τῶν λοιπῶν πορνουῶν. c. 3.
Tit. 3.

(c) Sozom. l. 7. c. 18.

a new Evidence, which we are now to consider.

(d) *Campania in Italy was a Region ennobled with Cities, being so thick set, (e) as they seem'd to be one continued Town; and yet all were but little Towns, besides Capua and Theanum.* This instance had not been worth producing, if our Author had been so fair as to add one word more out of *Strabo*, who does not say the Cities of *Campania* were small Towns absolutely, but (f) that they were such in comparison of *Capua*. For *Capua*, says he, was indeed what the name imports, the head and the chief of the Country; for compared to this the other were but little Towns, except *Theanum*; for that it seems was not only considerable, but great enough to bear the comparison. As if one intending to set out the excessive greatness of *London*, should say that the other Cities of *England* were but Villages compar'd to it: Our Cities are not made Villages or little Towns by the expression; but *London* is to be conceiv'd excessive great. The Spies of *Israel* who gave an account of the Giants of *Canaan* saying (g) *we were in our own sight but Grasshoppers*, did not intend to disparage their own stature, but to represent the prodigious height of the sons of *Anak*. So in *Laconia*, where were anciently a hundred Cities, in *Strabo's* time there were but thirty, and those small Towns. That Country was

(d) Prim. Ep. p. 58, 59.

(e) Strab. l. 5.

(f) τὰ δὲ ἀπὸ πόλιν καὶ νομίζοντο ὡς ἓκα τὴν
ἐὺχρησιν πλὴν τῶν.

(g) Numb. 13. 33.

very

very low in *Strabo's* time; and these Cities which are here reckoned, were but Villages to *Sparta*, excepting those of *Laconia* who were called free. *Ptolomy* (*b*) reckons in this Region fewer Cities by much; and when Bishops were settled in that Country, it does not appear that these small Towns ever had any, but only the great Cities, upon which these depended: As appears from the subscriptions of the Greek Bishops to their Synodical Letter (*i*) to *Leo* the Emperour.

(*l*) *The Kingdom of Eumenes* is the next instance, and this left him by his father in a part of Asia, (as well stored with Cities as any in the world) besides *Pergamus* the Metropolis, consisted of such places as *Polybius* in *Suidas* calls λιτὰ πολίσματα. Now if Mr. *Clerkson's* observation be true, that χωίον never signifies a City but a Village, this poor King had no Cities either small or great to begin the World with; for by that name *Strabo* (*m*) calls the places about *Pergamus* that this King received from his Father; and he adds, that *Pergamus* it self was hardly a City before this *Eumenes* had made it so, for all its greatness was owing to him. How little these were is not very material, since *Polybius* (*n*) tells us they were but few. And however Asia might be furnish'd with Cities, the paternal Kingdom of *Eumenes* was but very poorly

(*b*) *Ptol.* l. 2. (*i*) *Ep. Synod. Episc. Metr. Corinth. Conc. Chalc.* p. 3. (*l*) *Prim. Ep.* p. 59.

(*m*) *Ἀσίας τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ χωρίων περὶ Περγᾶμου ἡ πολλὰ πόλεις.* *Strab.* l. 13. (*n*) *ὀλίγα καὶ λίγα πολίσματα.* *Polyb. Excerpt. de virt. & vit.* p. 1467.

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provided. And now comes in *Crete* once more, and I think the third time, with its hundred Homerial Cities, and as many imaginary Bishops. Yet since our Author insists (o) upon it as the most pertinent Instance, let it be mustered as often as he pleases. We are often told that when *Titus* was there, it had a hundred Cities, and that by the Apostles appointment he was to ordain as many Bishops. If our Author was often told this Tale, he is even with his Authors, for he tells it as oft; and I am afraid if it had been true, he had not taken so great delight in repeating it. Dr. *Hammond* indeed spoke unwarily of an hundred Cities in that Island, and consequently of as many Bishops to be ordained by *Titus*, it not concerning the question he was treating of, whether they were many or few; but he did not consider, how different the state of that Island in *Titus* his time was, from that which is represented by *Homer*. For in *Strabo*'s time there was scarce a tenth part of this number; nor do I know of any since *Homer*'s time who could find those hundred Cities, but *Simeon Metaphrastes*, who speaks of an Earthquake that destroyed this whole Century of Cities at once; but he provided by this destruction, that no body else should ever find them. But *Scaliger* (p) rebukes this extravagant destroyer, and corrects the figures, instead of a hundred directing us to read ten. I shall add no more here; since I have given an account already

(o) Prim. Ep. p. 59.
 Seb. Chron. p. 258.

(p) Scal. Not. in Eu-

of the number of the *Cretian* Bishops and Cities.

(q) *For one Bishop in a great City, there was ten, sometimes twenty, sometimes more in the lesser Towns; and more there had been, had not the ambition of following Ages, with a non obstante to the Apostles rule, judged a small place unbeseeming the honour and greatness of a Bishop.* That the lesser Cities were much more numerous than the great, is readily granted; that these lesser Cities were no bigger than the generality of our Market-Towns, after all our Author has done, requires farther proof. We have indeed some Market-Towns that are not inferiour to Cities, but then they are not for our Author's purpose; for they have many Parishes and Churches, and cannot be crowded into one Congregation. Cities very small were likewise very rare, and the generality were too great for a Congregational Bishop. It was not the ambition of after-ages, that forbad the making of Bishops in mean places; but when a Bishop was a name of great honour, and had many civil priviledges annexed to it, it was the ambition of vain men that instigated them to endeavour to be Bishops though in a Village, and places where there never had been any before; and it was the wisdom of the Church to put a stop to that ambition, and by that means to secure the unity of the Church and the possibility of a general Communion. But our Author complains, that *in some such places where they had*

(q) Prim. Ep. p. 60.

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been settled, they were extinguished, and in other places they were united. So Phulla was united to Sugdæa, and so Tyropolis to Alania. These Instances might have been spared, for they are too new for our present purpose, being of the twelfth or thirteenth Century. And these were not joyn'd because the Dioceses were small: For those of *Bulgary*, to which the first instance appertain, were very large without those Unions; and in the other, *Alania* is not the name of a Town, but of a Nation. But the question being about Primitive Dioceses, it had been more to the purpose to have shewn of what extent they were for the first three hundred years, and then to have inform'd us what alterations succeeding ages had made as to the bounds of ancient Bishopricks; how some came to be extinguish'd, and others to be united. But the ages that next followed the time, to which our Author confines his Primitive Episcopacy, were so far from sinking or uniting Bishopricks, that they divided those old ones, and made many of one; and yet after all, they were still of the Diocesan way, as will appear hereafter. The reducing of the Bishopricks of *Sardinia* to seven, is likewise late; and when they were most, they were Diocesan and not Congregational: And in the fifth Century (r) they were not so many as they are now, for they were but five. As for the Bishopricks of *Ireland* and of *Italy*, they have been al-

(r) Not, Africa. Ed. Sirmond.

ready consider'd at large, and may be dismiss'd without farther reply.

The Council of *Sardica* is once more arraign'd (s) for *forbidding Bishops in the least Cities*; but the equity of that Canon, as well as of several others to the same effect, has been already defended from the cavils of Mr. *Clerkson*, and therefore ought in reason to be discharg'd from farther vexation. Yet since these exceptions are made, not only against this Canon, but the Authority of that Synod; for curiosities sake they may be examin'd. (t) *I will not say that many of the Bishops there were Arrians, tho' the Oriental Prelates present there shew'd themselves immediately after at Philippopolis; and the Arrians were branded for not being contented with small Bishopricks.* Some men can use very crafty figures of speech, when they have nothing to the purpose. *I will not say:* But why I pray? There lies no Action of *Scandalum Magnatum* from those Bishops; he might safely venture to say any thing of them that he knew to be true. Yet the modest diffident man will not say they were *Arrians*? No, he will not say it forsooth. But is there any ground for such a suspicion? The good man will not say it. Why then does he say, that he will not say it? *Tho' the Oriental Prelates present there, shew'd themselves presently after at Philippopolis:* Yet for all this, he will not say that many of them were *Arrians*. A captious man may take this to be nonsense,

(s) Prim. ep. p. 61.

(t) Prim. ep. p. 61.

but I will not say it. When a Dissenter mumbles after this manner; it is not altogether for the elegance of the figure, but when he knows that what he offers for an argument is either a lye, or not to the purpose, then such reserves as this serve to bring him off in case of detection, for he would not say it then for all the World: and this is the present case. Our Author had a mind to disparage the Council of *Sardica* for this Canon, that forbids the making of Bishops in Villages and such small Cities where there had been none before; to take away their credit he intimates that many of the Bishops were *Arrians*. Some *Arrian* Bishops came (u) indeed to *Sardica*, but they had no more to do in making that Canon, than Mr. *Clerkson*. For they never joyn'd with the Western Bishops so far as to be present with them, and (x) they refus'd so much as to confer or to speak with them, unless they would first put *Athanasius* and *Paul* Bishop of *C. P.* out of their Communion; and when they could not obtain that, they left *Sardica* and went to *Philippopolis*. And tho' our Author was not ignorant of this, yet he could not forbear excepting against that Synod, upon the account of those *Arrians*, who, he knew had not the least hand in any of the Canons made at *Sardica*. Yet the close of this exception surpasses all the rest. *The Arrians*

(u) Ep. Synod. Sardic. ap. Theodor. l. 2. c. 8.

(x) διὰ τὸν Ἀριτδικὸν ἐκείν; πρὸς τὸν ποτὶ ἐπιστολὴν ἐλπίσιν
καὶ ἐβόλῃς. Socr. l. 2. c. 20.

were branded for not being contexted with small Bishopricks. By which observation our Author would suggest, if the Reader will take it, that these *Arrians* made that Canon, which forbids Bishops to be ordein'd in small Cities, because they were not content with small Bishopricks; whereas this Canon was made against the Innovations of the *Arrians*, who made Bishops in such small places where there never had been any before. And *Ischyras* (y) ordein'd in a small Village in *Egypt*, was among the Eastern Bishops at *Sardica*, and it may be imagin'd, would not very readily subscribe to that Canon which condemn'd his Ordination.

The next exception against this Synod is, (z) that it was of little authority, not admitted by the *Greeks* into their Code till the *Trullan Council*.—Nor by the *Latins* some ages after it was held, &c.—Nor by the *African Churches*, who rejected, and would not be oblig'd by its Canons for Appeals to *Rome*. How soon or late this Synod was generally receiv'd, does little concern the Canon in dispute, which does not establish any thing new, but only affirms ancient Practice. And if the matter of this Canon was generally observ'd, where the Synod of *Sardica* was not yet owned, it is plain, that this matter depends upon better authority than the sanction of a Council; immemorial Custom, and the general agreement of Churches. Without regard to this Canon, the bounds

(y) *Socrat.* l. 2. c. 20, (z) *Prim.* ep. p. 62.

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of ancient Bishopricks were accounted sacred, and not lightly to be changed. Some Villages in *Pentapolis*, accounted considerable enough to make a Diocese in troublesome times, because they had immemorially been annex'd to the Episcopal City, were judged by their people to have been settl'd in that condition by Apostolical Order, and therefore the people of those places were earnest they should return again to their first dependance. The Region *Mareotes* was large enough to make a good Diocese of it self; yet when a Bishop was set up in one part of it, *Athanasius* complains that it was done against ancient Tradition, which in such cases as these, was to take place. *Theophilus* Bishop of *Alexandria* having made a Bishop in a mean place, where there had been none before, is blam'd, as a violator of the establish'd Order of the Church. So that if the Synod of *Sardica* was not received any where, for many ages after it was held; yet this Canon against making Bishops in small places where there had been none before, was it seems generally approv'd, at leastwise the matter of it was accounted equal and fit. There are Orders of other Synods in the same age, to the same effect; and I do not know of any ancient Assembly, or so much as a single Writer, that ever made any exception against this Rule. But on the contrary, when Bishops were ordain'd in small places, where there had been none before, we find complaints against it, as a violation of old establishment; and even in *Afric*, where such innovations grew frequent, the com-

plaints were loud on both sides. In the Conference at Carthage the *Donatists* as well as *Catholicks* complaining of these violations of ancient limits.

(a) Nor need I say that this Synod is misunderstood, and that this restraint is laid on Bishops of another Province. Our Author speaks reason; for surely he needs not say what he had said already, and to so little purpose; nor need I repeat here what I have reply'd before. But what he adds, deserves consideration for the newness and singularity of the Argument. It would be much, says our Author, for our satisfaction, if we could understand punctually what numbers they thought sufficient for one Presbyter; and we may have the best direction that can be expected in such a case from Chrysostom, (b) who affirms, that one hundred and fifty Souls was thought as much as one Pastor could well, and more than he could without great labour discharge. His words are, It is a very laborious thing for one man to have the charge of a hundred and fifty. How much this was to the satisfaction of Mr. Clerkson, I will not enquire; how little it is to the purpose, will I hope, sufficiently appear from what I am going to reply. First then, Chrysostom makes not the least mention of a Presbyter, nor of the number sufficient for his cure; but in general says, It is a

(a) Prim. ep. p. 62. (b) ἐπὶ πέντε καὶ ἑκατὸν
ἐνδεκάτῃ καὶ πενήντῃ μόνον. Chryl. Or. in.
Ignat.

difficult thing for one man to take the care of a hundred and fifty only. Whether one Presbyter or one Bishop, or one Captain, he does not say. And this is clear, that at the same time he makes such a little flock so formidable a charge, he makes (c) the Apostles to commit a City of twenty myriads, or two hundred thousand, to the cure of *Ignatius*; and therefore from thence gives an estimate of the person, and of what talents he must be possessed, to whom the Apostles would deliver so great a charge. The design therefore of *Chrysostom* in that passage is to set out the character of *Ignatius* to advantage, from the greatness of the City, of which he was Bishop; and to set off the City, he compares it with the lowest or meanest Congregations; but does not give the least intimation that no one Presbyter had greater, or that a place of more inhabitants than a hundred and fifty requir'd the care of a Bishop. If to commend the chief Magistrate of some very great City, one should borrow this of *Chrysostom*, and say, that it is a difficult thing to govern a Family of twenty people, or to keep good order in a Town of but two hundred inhabitants; and therefore his endowments must be extraordinary, into whose hands the government of so great a City is committed; he would be thought a very strange Critick, who from such a complement

(c) Τὸ δὲ πάλιν ἐγκρατεῖν τὸ πᾶν καὶ διακονεῖν
 ἕκαστον ἐκτενέστερον μυριάδας. Chrys. in Ign. T. 5.
 P. 501.

should remark, that a Family ought to consist of no more than twenty ; or that a Constable ought not to undertake the keeping of the peace in a Village that has more than two hundred inhabitants ; and therefore where there is a greater number, it requires a Mayor and Aldermen to undertake the charge. Or if upon a Commemoration of some Bishop of *London*, the Preacher should think fit to turn the greatness of the City into a Topic of that Bishops commendation, and say, that a cure of a hundred and fifty Souls is a great and difficult charge, and great care to be us'd in providing even for such a place an able Pastor ; and therefore what wonderful abilities must he be thought master of, who was judg'd capable of being the Pastor of so vast a City. Would any man that is awake conclude from hence, that there is never a Parish-Presbyter in *England*, that had a greater cure ? So pertinent is that *direction* which our Author fancy'd to have found in *Chrysostom* for understanding punctually what numbers they anciently thought sufficient for one Presbyter. To the same effect he proceeds to tell us, (d) that upon this account one Presbyter was not thought sufficient for a place that contain'd three or four hundred inhabitants. For this we desire some proof, but I am affraid we must expect long. There is one thing more in our Authors remarks upon the Canon of *Sardica*, that deserves to be taken notice of ; and that is, that where one Presbyter is not sufficient, there a

(d) Prim. ep. p. 63.

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Bishop ought to be ordein'd. It is a rule he has made to himself, by inverting the Canon of *Sardica*, that forbids the making of a Bishop in a very little City, where even one Presbyter may suffice. Now the practice of antiquity was very different in this case from what our Author fancies; for there were several Towns that had no Bishops, which had not only many Presbyters, but many Congregations. *Bethleem* was but a Village belonging to *Jerusalem*, (e) and yet it had many Presbyters belonging to it; the great resort of Christians thither from all parts making it too populous for one Presbyter to supply it. *Nicopolis* near *Alexandria* (f) was not inferior to a City, but never had a Bishop of its own; and therefore must have many Presbyters and Congregations without a Bishop. There were many Villages in the Territory of *Antioch* (g) superior to many Cities, and these had no Bishops but Presbyters; and the greatness attributed to them, makes it necessary they should have several Ministers and Congregations. *Fussala* (h) which before *S. Augustins* time had always belong'd to the Diocese of *Hippo*, had several Congregations or Parishes in it. And as for single Presbyters, they had of old Country Parishes large enough; for those of *Marcotes* (i) had

(e) Hieron. ep. ad. Joh. Hieros. (f) Strab. l. 17. Voss. Var. Obser.
 (g) Κάουσι μεγάλα κὶ παύαν-
 θειωποι κὶ πόλεων ἐν ὀλίγων πλῆθι πλυνδρῶσαι.
 Liban. Antioche. (h) Aug. ep. 209. (i) Athanas.
 Ap. 2.

some ten, some more Villages to make up their several Parishes. And these Congregations must far exceed the stint of Mr. *Clerkson*, or those Villages must be very mean; and yet one of the meanest of them was thought capable of a Bishop by the *Arrian* party. *Libanus* (l) a very great Village, had but one Presbyter, one *Abram* who Converted it; and in the Territory of *Antioch* (m) there were many Villages under one Presbyter. In conclusion, when he had qualify'd the Canon so often mention'd to his own mind, and made it allow Latitude enough for Congregational Episcopacy; he finds (n) fault with both *Greeks* and *Latins*, that they did not think themselves concern'd to observe it. Sometimes he thinks fit to lessen that Synod, because neither the Eastern or Western Churches had receiv'd it; and now he is discontented that all had not observ'd it. When some have puzzled long upon a matter that does not easily comply with their Hypothesis, they are apt to lose their first design, and to forget what it was they would have: But our Author, tho' in some things he seem to forget himself, is sure to keep to the conclusion, that those Cities lesser or greater, the greatest being no bigger than Villages with them, and Market-Towns with us.—They contain'd no more than might meet together for Christian Communion.—What we assert con-

(l) Κώμην μετρίαν. Theodor. Hist. Rel. in Abr.

(m) Id. in vit. Policron. (n) Prim. ep. p. 65.

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cerning the smallness of ancient Bishopricks, is clear for incomparably the greatest number of them. How effectually he has perform'd this, let the Learned Reader be judge, when he has compar'd the Allegations on both sides. And after all, tho' what he contends for in this Chapter should be admitted, the smallness of ancient Bishopricks is not clear, unless it be first prov'd that the City where the Bishop resided made up his whole Bishoprick; and how far this is from being true, will appear in more proper place.

C H A P. IV.

THE great Cities come now under consideration; (o) and about these, our Author allows, *there may be more question*. Concerning these, he insists earnestly upon two points. The first, That even those great Cities were not very large nor populous. The second, That for many ages after Christ, there were but few Christians in them; at least no more than might meet in one Assembly, and comply with the measure of Congregational Episcopacy. *Those were counted great Cities which had sixteen or twenty furlongs in circumference*. And even such Cities might be so well in-

(o) Prim. ep. p. 66.

habited, that they could not all meet in one Congregation for Christian Communion. But this compass was never accounted great, tho' some other circumstances might render such Cities considerable; but *hereof*, he says, *he has given instances before*, and those instances have been examin'd. Yet here he adds four instances more. *Pelusium a Metropolis of a great part of Egypt, (p) was but twenty furlongs in circumference.* That *Pelusium* was accounted a great City in *Strabo's* time, or was *Metropolis* of any part of *Egypt*, is only an imagination of our Author, which is always very favourable and subservient to his notion. This place had indeed in very old times been very great: And *Manetho (q)* reports, that it had a Garrison of two hundred and forty thousand men; and then it must have a wider circumference than *Strabo* speaks of. *(r) Diodorus Siculus* therefore calls it an ordinary Town with respect to that condition of which our Author speaks, and uses a diminutive name of City to express it. *Tanis* was once a great place, and *Metropolis* of a *Nomus*, and is stil'd a great City by *Strabo*; *(s)* yet *Jerom (t)* makes it an instance of one of the meanest Cities of *Egypt*. *Phocæa (u)* one of the greatest Cities in *Æolis* had no more, as *Livy (x)*

(p) Strab. l. 17. (q) Ap. Joseph. cont. Appion. p. 921. Ed. Frob. Marsh. Can. Chron. p. 107. (r) πάλισμα πρὸς αὐτὴν τῆς πολιτείας. Diod. Sic. l. 16. (s) Strab. l. 17. (t) Hieron. Ep. ad Evag. (u) Prim. ep. p. 66. (x) Duum millium & quingentorum passuum spatium murus amplectitur. Liv. D. 4. l. 7.

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describes it. This instance has been examin'd already, and our Author is destitute of any authority for making this a great City. I am sure *Eusebius* (y) mentions the place with some slight, as if it had been some condescension to take notice of them. *Sebaste built by Herod, designing to make it comparable to the most eminent Cities, was no longer than twenty furlongs.* Yet it was not the compass, but the magnificence of this City that made it equal to the most eminent. For in *Stephannus* (z) it is mention'd with some diminution, and call'd a small City; and it is familiar with *Josephus* to magnifie the works of *Herod* something beyond the justness of History. *Byzantium* is the last instance of a great Town of little circuit; but how unfortunate our Author was in this allegation, I have shewed already, and take no delight to expose mistakes, which his too great addictedness to his notion so often betrays him to. I have in the preceding Chapter given instances of several sizes of Cities accounted great, and the lowest of them double to what our Author would make a general standard for the measure of great Cities. I will add a few here to compare with the additional instances he thought fit to produce by way of Reserve. *Xenophon* (a) in his expedition of *Cyrus*, mentions some Cities, with

(y) Φωσείε, ἐπὶ γὰρ αὐτῆς ἀποτίμωμαι. Euseb. Præpar. l. 4. p. 157.

(z) Σεβάστη ἐν τῇ Σαμαρείτιδι πολι-
χρυσ. Steph.

(a) Xenoph. Exp. Cyri. l. 3. Larissa
on the Tigris. πόλις μεγάλη.

the character of Great. He gives the circuit but of two, of which the least was two parasangs, the other four. Now a parasang (*b*) containing thirty furlongs, the least of these was seven miles and an half in compass, the other double. *Dicaearchus* (*c*) gives the measure of *Thebes* in *Baotia*, and makes it seventy furlongs, i. e. near nine miles in compass; and is so particular in giving the figure of the City, and the nature of the soil about it; that there is no doubt, but he was an eye witness of what he relates. Yet there is another fragment, that goes under the name of the same Author, and is written in verse, that makes (*d*) it but forty three furlongs about; which better suits with its condition in latter times, which was far below its antient greatness, and what it was in the age of *Dicaearchus* who was *Aristotles* Scholar. *Chalcis* in *Eubœa* was likewise seventy furlongs in circumference, as the same Author (*e*) reports; which agrees well with what *Strabo* (*f*) relates of this place, at the time of which *Dicaearchus* speaks. For about the time of *Alexander's* expedition into *Asia*, the Citizens of *Chalcis* enlarg'd their walls, and took in *Canethus* and *Eurypus*. But to return to our Author.

(*b*) Herodot. l. 5.
Ex. Hæschel. p. 172.

(*c*) Dicaearch. *Εἰς ἑλλάδας*

ἐχέουσι πεπλάκωντα πρόστι τριῶν. Ἀνελουφὴ ἑλλάδας.
p. 166.

(*e*) Dicaearch. *Εἰς ἑλλ.* p. 176.

(*f*) περίβολον τῆς πόλεως ῥυξήταρ, ἐντὶς τείχους λαβόντες τὸν πελάγην καὶ τὸν εὐρύπον. Strab. l. 10.

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(g) Such great Cities (seeing the largeness assigned them was thought sufficient to make one Metropolis) they were very few. What he takes for an extraordinary measure, was so far from being accounted so, that it is to be rather accounted little than great; and what he fancies to be rare, was but the size of ordinary Towns. Those which were any thing remarkable for greatness, having above double the compass; and many reckon'd no prodigies, having four times as much. But the remark that follows, deserves pity rather than discussion. That whereas there was but one Metropolis in a Province, there were twenty, sometimes forty more inferior Cities under it. And the Council of Chalcedon (h) declares it to be against the Ecclesiastical Rules to have two Metropoles in one Province. But what Council was ever so vain as to Order that there should be but one great City in a Province; or if a Metropolis should happen not to be very large, that no City within its resort should presume to be greater than the mother Town? Nice was (i) the old Metropolis of Bithynia, yet Nicomedia was (l) much the greater City, and in time carry'd away the Metropolitcal preheminance. Casarea (m) was the Metropolis of Palestine, and yet *Alia* or the Gentile Jerusalem was not inferior to it. Nor did (n) Gaza and Azotus, and in Constantius his reign (o) Lydda

(g) Prim. ep. p. 66. 67.

Act. 12.

(i) Strab. l. 12.

Nicom. (m) Conc. Chalc. Act. 13.

Exp. Alex. l. 2. p. 159.

(o) Geogr. vet. Gotofr.

(h) Conc. Chal.

(l) Dio. Or. ad

(n) Arrian:

and *Ascalon* cease to be great Cities, because they were not Metropoles. Old *Byzantium* (p) was under *Heraclea*, at least wise in Ecclesiastical affairs; and yet it was accounted then the greatest City of *Thrace*. *Antioch* was the Metropolis of *Syria*, (q) and yet the Cities of that Province were generally very great and populous, tho' not equal to their Mother City. There were but very few Metropoles so small as those Mr. *Clerkson* has pick'd out; but he is willing the Reader should imagin that this is the greatest size of Cities. To very little purpose he observes, that *Lesbus* was Metropolis of thirty Cities, and is forc'd to strain the words of *Strabo*, (r) without any occasion, or doing any service to his cause. For that Author says, that *Lesbus* and *Cuma* were as it were the Mothers of thirty Cities, i. e. all the Cities of *Eolis*, which had been about thirty; but before *Strabo*'s time many of them were lost. And to what end is all this? Were they then all inferior to *Lesbus*, because it was their Mother? What did not *Syracuse* outgrow *Corinth*? and *Carthage* surpass *Tyre*? and *Marseilles* exceed *Phocæa*? Was it not usual for Colonies to excel their mother Cities? And even of these thirty Cities, who can tell how few remain'd to be Bishops Seats, or how large they were? Nor does this notion of a Metropolis con-

(p) Herodian. l. 3. Codin. l. 1. c. 20. Parochia Heraclienfis Ecclesiæ. Gelas. Epist. 13. ad Ep. Dardan.

(q) Strab. l. 16.

(r) Strab. l. 13.

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cern the present point, which is only about the chief Cities of Provinces. But the greediness of snatching any thing that to a hasty view may have some resemblance of an argument, is apt to carry Learned Men sometimes very far from their purpose. To as much purpose he takes notice, (s) that in Phrygia there were above sixty Cities; yet the same Author mentions but two that were great. Strabo does indeed mention two, as the greatest Cities of the greater Phrygia; but this does no more imply that the rest were little, than he who should say that Amsterdam and Leyden were the greatest Cities in Holland, would imply, that the rest of the Cities of that Province were but small, and like our Burroughs or Market-Towns. In Laconica he notes, that there were thirty Cities in Strabo's time, —all little Towns, save Sparta. He had noted this before, and I have shew'd that these were in effect but Villages belonging to Sparta; and of all these thirty, there were scarce three of them Bishops Seats in the middle of the fifth Century; nor does it appear there ever had been any more.

(t) Some of those great Cities had but few Inhabitants: And he instances in Laodicea, which had but few Inhabitants in Strabo's time, because it was subject to Earthquakes; and then reckons up several Cities of the East subject to the same calamity, and twice sa-

(s) Prim. ep. p. 67.

(t) Prim. ep. p. 67.

mous Cities that in Tiberius his Reign were in one night destroy'd by Earthquake in those parts. I am very sorry to find a man, who pretends to be serious, trifling with the most dreadful of God's Judgments. He might with as much reason have brought in as many more that had been dispeopl'd by the Plague, and then urge that *some great Cities were not populous.* It is not long since *Naples* shook; yet he would be thought a strange kind of reasoner, that should thence infer, that it is not a populous City. *Antioch* hath been several times in a manner totally overthrown with Earthquakes, yet still was soon after fill'd with Inhabitants; and these Countries which our Author chooseth for his instances, were famous for their fecundity and their people, and were not forsaken, tho' it pleas'd God sometimes to chastise them with Earthquakes. And what part of the World is there, where men can be safe from that danger? nay, the most populous and fruitful parts of the World have been most afflicted with this evil: Whether we must look for the reason in the nature of the Soyl, or in the Justice of God. For wickedness increasing in proportion to men, and places as they grow more populous, becoming more wicked, may be therefore more expos'd to such strokes of vengeance. *It is probable, says Mr. Clerkson, (u) Neocaesarea was not very populous, considering what*

(u) Prim. ep. p. 63.

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Theodoret (*x*) reports of those banish'd thither by Valens (who was not wont to chuse desirable places for the punishment of such) they all dy'd there in a short time through the hardships of the place. They were not always mean and ill inhabited places, that were chose for the confinement of banish'd persons. Paul Bishop of Constantinople (*y*) was banish'd to Thessalonica, (*z*) a City very large and populous; and the hardships of the place, which our Author mentions out of Theodoret, was no other than the coldness of the Country, that did not agree with the Clergy of Antioch, which Valens sent thither from a warmer Climat. It is strange, our Author thinks, (*a*) if Cæsarea in Cappadocia were very populous, since the Situation of it, as describ'd by Strabo, was neither safe, nor healthful, &c. It is a vain thing to oppose remote conjectures against known fact; (*b*) for how incommodious soever our Author may fancy the Situation of that City, which for so many ages hath been the Capital (*c*) of Cappadocia; yet it has ever maintain'd an eminent character of a very great and populous City. The inundation of the neighbouring River did sometimes streighten them. But this was rare; (*d*) and what was

(*x*) Theod. l. 4. c. 22. Ed. Vales. (*y*) Vit. Paul. apud. Phot. Cod. 257. (*z*) Thessalonica. ἡ τὴν μακεδονίαν τῶν ἁλλων ἐκείνη. Strab. l. 7. Zosim. l. 1. c. 29. 43. l. 2. c. 21. (*a*) Prim. ep. p. 68. (*b*) Cæsarea. μαρτυρεῖται καὶ ἐκείνη. Soz. l. 5. c. 4. μαρτυρεῖται καὶ παλαιότερον. Justin. Nov. 30. (*c*) Geogr. vet. Gotofred. (*d*) Basil. ep. ad. Theodos. Coteller. Mon. T. 2. p. 98.

wanting in their next neighbourhood, was abundantly supply'd by *Galatia* and other Countries. If one should suppose a City to be placed in a Province, where nature has furnished neither stones nor timber, and the soyl scarce capable of corn; a City that has no fresh water within a good distance, nor ground under it firm enough to bear any great building, and scarce more stable than a morasse; Our Author would think it strange there should ever be people enough in such a place, to make up one competent Congregation; and yet these are the circumstances of one of the most populous Cities now in *Europe*. (e) Of *Heraclea* one of the most considerable Cities of *Ætolia*, *Livy* tells us, That there was a Castle by it as well inhabited. But whether that Castle which joyn'd to the City were very great and populous, or the City small and of few inhabitants, is uncertain; but the circumstances of the Siege, and the defence that was made, while the *Romans* attack'd the place incessantly day and night for four and twenty days, make it more probable, that this was a populous Town. And when it was taken by surprize, and the people fled to the Castle, the place, says *Livy*, (f) could scarce hold, much less maintain them. And surely if there were so many people in the Town, that a great Castle could scarce hold them, it would be very difficult to find

(e) *Prim. ep. p. 68.*
Excerpt. leg. c. 13.

(f) *Liv. l. 36. c. 22. Polyb.*

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one Church that could hold them all. So that this place will do little service to our Author's design. But to proceed.

(g) *A City was counted sufficiently populous if it had six thousand inhabitants. So (h) Herod ambitious to have Sebaste not inferior to the most renowned Cities, took care it should have six thousand inhabitants. Six thousand men with their servants and families is a pretty competent beginning for a great City; and the sum that so many families would make, upon the lowest computation, would make ten very great Congregations. But that this number made a City esteem'd populous, is not according to the opinion of ancient time, but of our Author. What numbers of people the Cities of Palestine had in Josephus his days, we may best understand from the Historian himself. Galilee, says Josephus, (i) was so well inhabited, that Cities were very frequent and thick, and a great multitude of Villages so populous, that the least of them had more than fifteen thousand inhabitants. And the same Author (l) affirms, that within Galilee alone he armed in the beginning of the War a hundred thousand men: And that in a certain Sedition in that Country, as many came together in four and twenty hours time: That in that tumult there came no less than*

(g) Prim. ep. p. 68. (h) Joseph. B. Jud. l. i. c. 16.

(i) Ἀλλὰ ἡ πόλις πυκνὰ, καὶ τὸ τῶν κώμων ἀλυσθός, πανταχὲ πο δ' ἀνθρώπων, ὥς ἐν τῇ ἐλαχίστῃ εἰπὴν ἡ πρὸς μύρας ἔχειν δίκητορας. Jos. B. J. l. 3. c. 4.

(l) Id. l. 2. c. 42. 43.

forty thousand from *Tarichea* (m) which was not the greatest City of *Galilee*. In *Japha* (n) a City of the same Region, there were about thirty thousand killed and taken. But this was but a small place in comparison of others; of *Tiberias*, the which was the chief, and *Sepphoris*, which is sometimes called by *Josephus* (o) the chiefest of *Galilee*. *Josapat*, the Town which *Josephus* defended against the *Romans*, had a prodigious number of People; (p) for there were forty thousand killed, twelve hundred only made captives, and the Women and Children saved. The great Cities of *Phenicea* inhabited by the *Syrians*, were very populous; as appears by the number of the Jews that were destroyed there in the beginning of their revolt. The people of *Casarea* (q) destroyed twenty thousand Jews who lived in that City. The people of *Scythopolis* (r) massacred thirteen thousand. Those of *Damascus* (s) ten thousand. So populous were those Cities where the Gospel was first preached, and the first Christian Congregations established. In *Syria* the Cities were no less populous; and in most parts of the World, unless when wars or other calamities happened to dispeople. The places accounted Cities were much more populous than our Market-Towns, or what our Author represents. *Selge*, a small City in *Pi-*

(m) Ταριχά-αὶ ἡ ὕδαρ ὡς τετρας μύρια.

(n) Jos. l. 3. c. 35.

(o) Jos. B. J. l. 3. c. 3.

(p) Jos. B. J. l. 3. c. 23.

(q) Jos. B. J. l. 2. c. 33.

(r) Id. l. 2. c. 34.

(s) Et c. 41.

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fidia is said, (t) with good Government to have increased to twenty thousand Men: And accordingly we find (u) that it was able to send out a considerable Army. Then it might well bear the title of a great City, which *Arrian* (x) gives it. How much after-times abated of these matters, I do not know. But *Zosimas* (y) mentions it in terms of diminution. *Aspendus*, reckon'd but a mean City of *Pamphylia*, was yet able (z) to send four thousand Men to the relief of *Pednelissus* when it was Besiged by an Army from *Selge*. *Fregella*, a City in *Italy*, not very memorable for greatness; yet how populous it was at one time, appears sufficiently from the complaints (a) made by the *Samnites* and *Peligni*, to the Roman Senat, that within a short time four thousand Families had removed from them to *Fregella*. *Heraclea* in *Doris* was never named among great Cities; tho' the Colonie sent (b) thither from *Laconia* consisted of ten thousand Men. *Xenophon* (c) while he had the greatest part of his ten thousand together, thought of building a City, and settling somewhere near the *Euxin* Sea; but when they divided, then he left off those thoughts; the

(t) Strab. l. 12. (u) Polyb. l. 5. p. 579. (x) Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. 1. (y) Πολίχυν. Zosim. l. 5. p. 539. Ed. Cellar. (z) Polyb. l. 5. p. 580. (a) Fregallas quoque millia iv. familiarum transiisse a se Samnites & Peligni querebantur. Liv. l. 41. c. 8. (b) ἡν οἱ Λακωνες μυρία δέκατορας πένητας ἐκτίσαν. Marcian. Her. p. 25. (c) Xenoph. Exp. l. 5.

number not being competent for such a purpose.

And to conclude, *Memnon*, in his History (*d*) of *Heraclea Pontica*, speaks of that company that *Therasymedes* had got together to repeople that City, after it had been destroyed by the *Romans*, as a poor and miserable remain, and so disproportioned to their former numbers, although these gleanings made up about eight thousand Men. *Placentia* and *Cremona*, most eminent Cities, says our Author, had each of them six thousand persons decreed by the *Romans* to be their Inhabitants. *Sympf. Chr.* pt. 5. p. 112. I do not scruple taking any Authors, when I know the matter to be true; tho' for facts so remote, it would be more decent, as well as more satisfying, to direct us to Writers something older than *Simpson*. These Colonies then which were drawn (*e*) in the first year of the second Punic War, were indeed considerable beginnings for those Cities; but they had scarce deserved the title of most Eminent, (*f*) if they had not increased much beyond this number. Now the improvement of these Cities was so great, that they might justly be called Eminent. For *Cremona* (*g*) when it was Sacked by the Army of *Antonius*, *Vespasian's* General,

(*d*) *Memnon* apud. Phot. cod. 220. (*e*) *Liv.* 3. 21. (*f*) *Ascon. Pedian.* in *Orat. Cic.* in *L. Pil.* *Vel. Patere.* l. 1. (*g*) *Dio. Caff.* l. p. 740. *Tact.* M l. 3.

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had fifty thousand Citizens slain, and a great many more that escaped. Such was the difference between the circumstances of it when it was so eminent, and those of its first Plantation. Besides a Colony of six thousand Men is not so mean a thing, as I have already shewed, since Women and Children, and Servants are to be added to this number, which in ordinary places may be four or five times as many, in very rich Cities may be double or treble this proportion. Nor are we to imagine that the places, into which Colonies were sent, were altogether empty, and had no inhabitants; for this was very rare, although the Colonies had all the power, as well as the propriety of the place and Country adjoining. And if in our Cities only Freemen were to be reckon'd; those which we might expect to find exceeding populous, would afford but very few thousands. Or if we should judg of a County by the Freeholders-Book, we must fall very short of the true number of the people; and yet this way which our Author takes, is not very unlike these. But of the *Roman* and *Greek* Colonies and Cities, I shall have occasion to speak more particularly, when I come to consider the Territories of ancient Cities. (b) *Thirty seven Cities yielded to Alexander near Porus's Country, some of which had five thousand, some ten thousand inhabitants, Justin. l. 12. c. 7. Curtius l. 8. c. 20. Mr. Clerkson's references*

(b) Prim. ep. p. 69.

are not very exact here; nor do his Authors say that for which they are quoted, tho' some others do. Nor does it much concern the present question, how populous the *Indian* Cities might happen to be; tho' the writers (i) of *Alexanders* Expedition do commonly represent them as extraordinary, when they give a particular account of those places. Only in one Province they happened not to be very great, and much short of the common measure of that Country. And therefore *Q. Curtius* (l) speaking of a great City in those parts, adds this qualification, *great for that Country*; or if we understand this in respect of the Roman World, this instance of *Indian* Cities will still be more frivolous. That which follows is more to the purpose, if it were but true, (m) *That Conquerour* (says our Author) *Building a City near the River Indus, which he call'd after his own name Alexandria, though it sufficiently peopled with a-thousand persons*, *Strab.* l. 15. I must complain here again for want of exactness: For *Strabo*, in the Book cited, has no such thing. But *Diodorus Siculus* (n) speaking of that *Alexandria*, tells us, that the Founder furnish'd it with ten thousand inhabitants; which agrees much better with the genius of that great Prince, and the character

(i) Arrian. Exp. Alex. l. 5. p. 351. Ed. Blancardi.

(l) Ad magnam deinde (ut in ea regione) urbem pervenit. *Q. Curt.* l. 9. c. 1. (m) Prim. ep. p. 69.

(n) ἔκτισεν πάλιν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ, μύριος καταλεξεί οὐκ ἥττω. *Diod. Sic.* l. 17.

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of the other Cities built by him and call'd by his name. For to pass by that of *Egypt*, as more generally known; The *Alexandria* on the *Tanais* was (o) sixty furlongs, or seven miles and an half in circuit: And that at the foot of Mount *Caucasus*, (p) had seven thousand old *Macedonian* Soldiers assign'd to it; and the other Soldiers then discharg'd had the liberty to settle there. And now from these instances he has produced, let the Reader, judge, whether *many of their great Cities contain'd no more than might come together in one Assembly.*

After all the pains our Author has taken to reduce the greater part of ancient Cities to the lowest measure and number possible, some it seems, will still remain obstinate, and refuse to comply with the Congregational Model. I was afraid he had prepar'd Earthquakes for such places as these, since he could not bring them to his Rule. But since he has thought fit to save the Cities and the Men, and to take a gentler method of dealing with them, let us give attention.

(q) *As for Cities that were greater and more populous.—In them the Christians for some ages were no more than could assemble in one place, the inhabitants consisting most of Heathens with Jews, and those of the Christian profession that were not of the Communion, nor would assemble with the Bishop.* I will not deny, that for some

(o) Q. Curt. l. 7. c. 6.

(p) Id. l. 7. c. 3.

(q) Prim. ep. p. 79.

ages the number of Christians were inferior to that of the Heathen. But then this being allow'd, it will not follow that all the Christians in the greatest Cities might assemble in one place of worship ; for some Cities were so great, that a hundred Churches could not receive all the people. Suppose therefore in *Rome* for instance, a million of Souls, which I think is the lowest estimate that was ever made of that People. If for the three first ages but a tenth part was Christian, not twenty Churches, such as the Christians were provided of at that time, could suffice. In *London*, tho' those of the Communion of the Church of *England* be much the greatest number, and make up the gross of the People; yet the Dissenters, were they willing to joyn in one Congregation, would not be able to meet in one place. And their way of service makes them more capable of great Congregations than the Primitive Christians; since generally speaking, they seem to have no other publick act of Religious Worship, but to hear. Nay, there is scarce any one Sect of them so mean, but would think themselves Persecuted, should all of that Sect within the compass of *London* be stinted to one place of meeting. *Amsterdam* may exceed *London* in number of Sects, tho' it be inferior to it in number of people; the Jews there inhabit one good quarter, the Papists are so numerous, that I have been inform'd, they have near thirty Chappels within that City; the *Lutherans* there have several Churches; to say nothing of other Sects that are very numerous ;

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ous. Yet those of the establish'd Religion are reckon'd the greater part, and require many Churches for their Worship. But to return to the Primitive Christians.

That we may better conceive the state of the Christians in the first three ages, let us consider how it was possible for them to thrive, and at last to become Masters of the Roman Empire under all those great discouragements to which they were all the while subject. They had seldom any friends in Court; and there are but two Reigns in all that time, in which they had any countenance; but were frequently set upon by the Emperors, and persecuted with full intent of utter extirpation. They could make no Faction in the State, for the roots of popular government had been pluck'd up, and the government of the Empire was too absolute to bear any thing of that nature. They had no power in the Army, for there were but few of them employ'd that way, and generally speaking, they did not like the service. Yet for all this, in less than three ages they possessed themselves of the Empire, and gave laws to the Heathen. Now if we speak humanly of this matter, we can resolve it into no other cause than the great number of the Christians. It must be confessed, that the providence of God was wonderful in preserving and raising this meek and simple people; but the means he chose were the same he had taken before in Egypt for the deliverance of Israel: *he increased them exceedingly, and so made them stronger than their enemies.*

The

The numbers of the Christians were great from the beginning : And what was said of our Saviour in *Judaea*, became true in a great part of the World, that *all the World did run after him*. This *Tacitus* and *Pliny* do affirm early. This *Tertullian* sets out with great ostentation towards the beginning of the third Century. But these Testimonies, with several others, have been urg'd already, (r) and need not to be insisted on in this place. I will add only one passage more to the same purpose out of *Maximin's* (s) Letter to *Sabinus*, where he sets out the occasion of that great Persecution under *Dioclesian*. *Dioclesian*, says he, and *Maximian*, my Fathers and my Lords, seeing all people almost to have forsaken the worship of the Gods, and to have joyned themselves to the Christians, had rightly ordered, that those who had forsaken the Religion of their Gods, should undergo exemplary punishment. Now this being the confession of an Enemy, ought to have the greater weight ; and we cannot doubt, but in the beginning of that Persecution the Christians were become the greater part of the *Roman Empire*. And therefore in the great Cities they could not meet in one Assembly ; and in the chief Cities they could not have so few as twenty Congregations. But you know the Fable, the Toad could not

(r) Vindicat. Prim. ch. p. 54. 55, 458, 499, 500. &c.

(s) ἵνα συνείδου ὁ θεὸς ἀπαντὰς ἀνθρώπους κατὰ λαοφείτας τῶν θεῶν θρησκείας, τῷ ἔθνεϊ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἐὰν τις συμμιμῆχος. Euseb. H. E. l. 9. c. 9.

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conceive an Elephant any bigger than the stretch of his own skin.

Mr. Clerkson (t) could meet with but one City small or great, for three hundred years after Christ, whose inhabitants were generally Christians; and that was Neocæsarea, of whose Conversion Gregory Thaumaturgus was the instrument. (u) But for all this, it does not appear that the Christians in that City were more than could meet together in one place. And to make it probable, that all the City made but one Congregation, he offers two things. First, *That we saw before that this place was not very populous*: And then, *that Gregory built but one Church there; he would doubtless have erected more, if more had been needful.* The first reason has been rejected already, and they must be very easy that admit it; because eleven Egyptian Bishops were banished to this place, therefore it had no more people than could meet in one Church. Yet as weak as this is, the other is no wiser; because Gregory built but one Church, therefore there were no more. Nay, tho' he might have built several Parish-Churches, yet the Cathedral, which by the ancients is called *the Church* by way of Eminence, might be only mention'd; and in the great Cities, where we are sure there were many Churches, they speak of *the Church*, that is, the Bishops; as if there were no other in the place, and there was but one Church in

(t) Prim. ep. p. 69.

(u) P. 70.

any City for some uses of Religion, that is, for Baptism and Penance. So that to speak properly, and after the manner of ancient times, there was in a City but one Church, the other being but Parish-Chappels and Oratories. Gregory therefore might build but one Church, and yet his City might have many Parish-Congregations. But for *Neocæsarea*, we have greater probabilities that it was too populous for one Religious Assembly. For first, it was the Metropolis of *Pontus*, and that long before it was converted by Gregory; as *Holstenius* (x) proves by a Medal of *Severus*, which had upon the reverse the age of this City. In the next place, it was eminent for liberal Studies, which little Towns never were. And *Basil* (y) relates with what earnestness the Magistrates pray'd him to take upon him the instruction of their Youth. And lastly, the character which the same Father gives (z) it, of being *the most Illustrious of Cities*, cannot agree with that meanness under which Mr. *Clerkson* does represent it.

There is another City in Phrygia, whose inhabitants are said to have been all Christians. Euseb. H. l. 8. c. 25. (a) and all with the City burnt together; but this was in the fourth Century, in the Persecution raised by Maximian, Anno. 312. That this was a small Town, we have from Eusebius: (b) And he notes farther, that they

(x) Luc. Holsten. in Steph. v. Neocæs.

(y) Basil. ep. 64. (z) ὁ Σεβαστὸς πόλιν. Basil. ep. 75. (a) C. 11. Ed. Valef. (b) πάλιν.

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had Magistrates; but that it had a Bishop, neither *Eusebius* nor *Lactantius* mention; and for ought that appears, it might belong to the Bishop of some other place. However let the City be as little as it will, the Bishop might be Diocesan, though all his Town made but one Congregation.

(c) *How predominant Heathenism was in the Cities of the Roman Empire before Constantine, may be collected, says our Author, in and after his Reign. If it was spreading and prevalent when the power of it was so much broken, it will be easie to infer what it was before. It cannot be denied, that Christianity received very great increase by the favour and the zeal of Constantine; yet it must be remembred, that the desolations under Dioclesian and his Collegues were so great, and the numbers of Christians destroyed, and frighted out of their Profession, so excessive, that it must be a great while before the Christians could recover themselves to that condition in which the Persecution found them. And though under Constantine and his Sons, the Church had a great seeming increase; yet many of the new Converts being induced by human considerations and arguments, extrinseck to Religion, made greater shew than strength; and in Julian's reign, when worldly advantages were on the Heathen side, many of these turned again to their old superstitions; and most of the instances, which are brought by our Author, to shew the number of Heathen after*

(d) Prim. ep. p. 71.

Constantine, are in that reign : Yet let us hear the particulars.

(d) *That we may afford the greatest advantage to Christianity, let us instance principally in Palestine, where the Gospel first moving, may in reason be thought to have made the greatest progress.* Some are never to be more narrowly observed, than when they pretend to offer favour and advantage. I am apt to believe, that if our Author had found any instances more to the advantage of his cause, he might have wav'd this complement to Christianity. *Here, he says, the Gospel first mov'd, and therefore should have made the greatest Progress.* But the great Revolutions that happened in that Country soon after the planting of the Gospel, may possibly have rendred the condition of Christianity there much worse than it was some time after in other Countries ; nay worse than it was in some of the Cities of *Palestine* in the Apostles time. For instance, *Sebaste*, which is *Samaria*, is brought as an Example of a City much addicted to Heathenism after *Constantine's* time ; and yet at the preaching of *Philip* the Deacon, all the City is said (e) to be converted. *Lydda* was a City of *Judea*, called also *Diospolis* ; and *St. Luke* (f) affirms, that it was all converted by *S. Peter* ; *All that dwell'd at Lydda turned unto the Lord.* Yet about three hundred years after, Christianity had made so little progress, that both Villages and Cities

(d) Prim. ep. p. 71.
(f) Act. 9. 32, 33.

(e) Act. 8. 6, 8, 10, 12, 14.

there,

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there, were exceeding Heathenish. But we must find no fault, because he pretends to afford Christianity greater advantage by these Examples.

Gaza, above all the rest, is stigmatiz'd by all as most Heathenish; yet as Heathenish as it was after Constantine's time, the Bishops of it had many Congregations before; for Silvanus who suffered Martyrdom in the last Persecution, is styl'd by Eusebius, (g) Bishop of the Churches of Gaza. Casarea too, in our Author's judgment, seems not much better; and yet there the Bishop had many Churches too in the former part of Constantine's reign, as his letter to Eusebius (h) mentions.

In Palestine therefore our Author mentions many Cities, where there were Heathens after Constantine's reign; and instances chiefly in those where in Julian's time the Heathen Party raised tumults, and committed many murders and barbarities; but this does not prove them to be the major part. For a small number under the countenance and instigation of the Emperour, may do a great deal of mischief without opposition. We have a fresh instance, how insolent a small party may grow, under the countenance of Authority, not quite so absolute, nor so implicitly obeyed, as that of the Roman Emperours was. And that the Christians were then, when they endured these

(g) τῶν ἀμφὶ τὴν γαζαν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐπίσκοπος. Euseb. H. E. l. 8. c. 13. (h) ὅπου τὸν ἡ αὐτοῦ περιέταται ἐκκλησίαν. Ep. Const. ad Euseb. Theol. l. 1. c. 15.

indignities, much the greater number, *Sozomen* who relates most of those tumults, does plainly shew, and that upon this very account *Julian* found himself obliged to use artifice rather than force, in the restoring of his superstition. *Julian*, says that Historian, (i) zealous to make *Heathenism* prevail, was much griev'd to see it overcome by the *Christian Religion*, which was in the general esteem preferr'd to it; and is troubled him to think, that his Religion must sink as soon as he is dead. For though the Temples were opened again, and the old Rites restored; yet he observed that the wives and children and servants, even of the *Heathen Priests*, were generally *Christian*. From hence it is clear, how the greater part and body of the People stood affected to Christianity. And though here and there a City might abound with *Heathen*, it is no wonder; for where there is a mixture of Religions, a party which to the whole does not bear the proportion of one to ten, may in some few places happen to be predominant.

Phanicia follows *Palestine*, and these our Author (l) observes from *Theodoret*, were madd upon their Idols and idolatrous Rites, and this observed by *Chrysostom* in *Arcadius* his reign. That there were superstitious people in *Phanicia* at that time, I do not deny, and perhaps more than in most places; but that they were the greater part, or near equal to the

(i) *Soz.* l. 5. c. 16. παρενδεδόκησαν ἵσταν ὑπο τοῦ θεοῦ
 αἰσμετὸν τὸν ἑθνισμὸν.

(l) *Prim. ep.* p. 72.

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Christians there, does not appear from any thing produced by our Author. Nay, the contrary appears from that relation of *Theodoret*, how *Chrysostom* with the assistance of a few Monks, pulled down the Heathen Temples of the Country.

In *Syria*, our Author (*m*) meets with *Helio- polis*, a place singular for superstition and beastliness, where *not one would endure to bear the name of Christ*; and *Arethusa*, he thinks, *was not much better furnished with Christians*, because they all joyn'd in the murdering of their Bishop. Yet in the same Chapter *Sozomen* assigns the reason of the Bishops return when he had once fled, because (*n*) *there were many like to be brought in danger upon his account*. *Apamea* is mentioned to the same purpose, (*and this was a Metropolis*) says our Author; *here the multitude was only restrained through fear, from hindering the demolishing of Jupiter's Temple*, *Theodor. l. 5. c. 21*. But this multitude might not be Heathen; for the Christians might not be very willing to have the Temple demolish'd, which, after the idolatrous service of it had been long disus'd, they might be desirous to preserve as an ornament of their City; upon which account many Temples were spared. *Constantine* had shut them up, and forbid sacrifices to be offered in them; and the zeal of the Christians abating against them, after the idolatrous service had been taken away, and the

(*m*) Prim. ep. p. 73.

κινῶμεν πολλὰς. *Soz. l. 5. c. 10.*

(*n*) μαθὼν δὲ αὐτὸν

party of the Heathen being grown contemptible, it seemed no prejudice to Christianity to suffer them to stand; and it was only the Monks and the more zealous sort of Christians, who procured and executed their demolition. To the same purpose our Author brings in the *Inhabitants of Emesa*, (another *Metropolitan City*) (o) who turn'd the *Christian Church*, newly built, into a *Temple for Bacchus*. This too was in *Julian's* time, and therefore does not prove the Heathen party to be most numerous in every City where they committed Insolencies. He is likewise mistaken, when he makes *Emesa* a *Metropolitan City*, in those times of which he is speaking. For it was not (p) a *Metropolis* then nor long after, but was under *Damascus*. Nor was it in *Syria*, but in *Phanicia*, where *Stephanus*, (q) and *Ammianus Marcellinus* (r) place it. The latter reckoning it among the *great and fair Cities* of that Country, and equal to *Tyre* and *Sydon* and *Berytus*. But many Authors confound the bounds of *Syria*, and some times (s) account *Phanicia* as part of it. Nor was this the unhappy temper of some particular places only, says our Author, (t) as appears by that of *Sozomen*; (u) both that which is called *Cœlofryia*, and the upper *Syria*, except the City of *Antioch*, was long before it came over to

(o) Theod. H. E. l. 3. c. 6. (p) Car. a S. Paulo Geog. Sacr. p. 304. Notit. Gr. ap. Car. a S. P. p. 4.

(q) Steph. de urb. (r) Ammian. Marc. l. 24. c. 26. (s) Seld. de Dijs Syr. c. 1. (t) Prim. ep. p. 74. (u) Sozom. l. 6. c. 34.

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Christianity. If it was late before these Countries received Christianity, they are but sorry instances in the present question concerning primitive Bishops. For where there were no Christians at all, it is in vain to enquire for the bounds of Episcopacy. But this observation turns against our Authors own notion. For if there were some entire Provinces that had not yet received the Christian Religion in the middle of the fourth Century; those which had received the Gospel, must consequently be more generally Christian: Since in the gross, the Christians at that time are allowed to have been the greater part of the Empire. But that passage of *Sozomen* must not be taken too strictly; for then it will not be true. For it is not true, that all *Syria*, excepting *Antioch*, did not receive Christianity till late. For *St. Paul* had planted several Churches there; and the Apostolical Council of *Jerusalem* (x) addressed their Synodical Epistle, not only to *Antioch*, but to the Brethren in *Syria* and *Cilicia*; and *St. Paul* in one of his visitations, is said to go confirming the Churches of *Syria*. In the second Century there were many Christians in that Country, for whose sake *Bardeſanes* wrote his books in the *Syrian* language; and in particular he is said by *Eusebius* (y) to have had many followers. In the Persecution under *Dioclesian*, (z) *Syria* is reckoned among other Provinces that had suffered for Religion;

(x) Aët. 15. 23. — 41. (y) Euseb. H. E. l. 4. c. 30. (z) Euseb. l. de Mart. Palest. c. 13.

and some time after *Athanasius* (a) reckons several Bishops of *Syria* who suffered upon his account. So that *Sozomen* must be understood of the remoter parts of the Country, bordering upon *Persia* and *Arabia*, where these Monks, of whom he speaks as the Converters of that Country, lived. For these he says (b) converted all the *Syrians*, and many *Persians* and *Saracens*. Now to deliver up this Country entirely as it were, to the Heathen, our Author adds, that, *in* Antioch it self the Heathen in Valens his time publickly celebrated Idolatrous Rites, &c. This was by the permission of that Emperour; who that he might more safely persecute the Orthodox Christians, gave liberty to all other Religions. And if in the greatest City of this Kingdom the Papists should by publick permission celebrate the Mass; it would be but a poor argument, that they make the greater part of the people. But of *Antioch* there will be occasion to say more hereafter. In *Arabia*, *Moses* being sent Bishop there, found but few Christians; that is, the *Saracens* under Queen *Mavia* had but few Christians, when that Bishop was sent to them. And to as much purpose he might have added, that the Inhabitants of the Cape of *Good Hope* were not then converted. And to the same purpose is the instance of *Milles* in *Persia*, who could not persuade one in the City, for which he was ordained, to become Christian. Yet both in *Ara*:

(a) Athan. ep. ad Antioch. T. 1. p. 580. Id. Apol. 2.

(b) Sozom. l. 6. c. 34.

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bia and *Persia* there were great numbers of Christians. For in *Persia* in *Constantine's* time, the Persecution of *Sapores* found and destroyed an infinite multitude; there were sixteen thousand *Persian* Martyrs, whose names were recorded by their own Country-men and their neighbours of *Syria*. But besides these, there were others innumerable, whose names were lost. In some parts of *Arabia* (c) Christianity was received betimes, and furnished Martyrs for the last Persecution.

(d) *And now having view'd all the next neighbours of Palestine, but Egypt, let us touch there also.* So speaks our Author, who walks about like a Persecution, diminishing the number of Christians where-ever he comes. Here *Memphis*, a *Metropolitcal City* in *Jerom's* time, was *Metropolis of the Egyptian superstition*; on *Ezek. 9*. While there remain'd any *Egyptian* superstition, it is no wonder that *Memphis* should be the *Metropolis* of it; for there of old was the residence of *Apis*, and this was their holy City; though it follows not from this expression, that the greater part of the Inhabitants were of that superstition. (e) Our Author mistook the reference of the Centurians, from whom he transcribes this as well as several other instances; and refers to the ninth Chapter of the Prophet, whereas it is the ninth book of the Commentary. In *Antinoe*, he

(c) Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 33. Id. l. 8. c. 12.

(d) Prim. ep. p. 74.
9. c. 30.

(e) Hieron. in *Ezek. l.*

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(d) Prim. ep. p. 74.

(e) Hieron. in *Ezek.* l.

observes, (f) *there was a Bishop; but very few assembled with him; the Inhabitants of the City were Gentiles,—and the Island, into which the two Macarij were banished, had not one Christian.* To these instances of *Egypt*, our Author is pleased to be so kind as to give the answer himself, *that they were remoter parts, and far from the place where Christianity was first embraced.*

But there is one thing more may be observed upon this occasion. The account of many of the places, in which our Author finds few or no Christians, comes from the Monks, who are said to convert them; and for my part I am much inclin'd to suspect, that they were apt to represent places as Heathenish, to give themselves the reputation of converting them by their miracles. And though we are told, they found all things wild; yet in a little while they made it like *Eden*, and converted (g) all to a man; so that *Island* was reduced: So the *Syrians*. But of *Bucolia*, a Region near *Alexandria*, in *Ortelius*, this is *Jerom's* character, in *Bucolia nullus est Christianorum*, *Vit. Hilar.* Notwithstanding the authority of *Ortelius*, our Author might have let this place too pass among the remoter parts of *Egypt*; for *Scaliger* (h) places it beyond, and distinguishes it from the Country of the *Egyptians*, and withall sets it beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire.

(f) Prim. ep. p. 75. (g) πάντας τῆς ἀκρί-
 τας ἐν τῇ νήπῳ. SOCR. l. 4. c. 24. Σὺν πᾶσι τῶν ἐν τῇ νήπῳ.
 SOZ. l. 6. c. 34. (h) Scalig. Animad. in Euseb.
 Chron. p. 18, 19.

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For (i) these barbarous people gave great trouble to the *Roman Prefect*, who guarded that part with a strong Garrison, which was nam'd from this wild people against whom they were plac'd. This agrees with their character in *Ferom*, (l) that they were a fierce and a barbarous nation. (m) But that which *Hilary* fixes on the whole Country, is not much more favourable; Egypt is full of Idols, and worships all kind of monsters for Deities, *Com. in Matth. 1.* But this character was given with respect to what it was when our Saviour fled thither, not to what it was when *Hilary* wrote: As appears plainly from the words of *Hilary*, which are these: *Herod seeking the death of the child, Joseph is by an Angel admonished to carry him into Egypt, (in Egyptum idolis plenam, &c.) into Egypt full of Idols, and worshipping for Deities all kind of monsters.* Where *Mr. Clerkson* by no very commendable artifice hath changed the words of *Hilary*, so as they may seem to speak of the present time. Our Author bids us look a little further into Africa, and there *Firmicus*, he says, in *Constantine's* time affirms, that a great part of the Africans did worship Juno and Venus. If our Author had look'd but into the Title page of *Firmicus*; he would scarce have told us of this Writers affirming this matter in *Constantine's* time, when the Book is dedicated to *Constantinus* and *Constans*, after they had been

(i) *Heliod. Æthiop. l. 1. c. 2.* (l) *Barbara & ferox natio Bubulcorum sedes erat. Vit. Hilarien.*

(m) *Prim. ep. p. 75.*

Emperours a considerable time. And if he had looked into the book, we had in all probability escaped this instance. The truth is, the Centuriators deceived him; and he seldom looked farther upon this head of the remains of Heathenism. *Firmicus* (n) then affirms, that a part, not a great part, of *Africk* worshipped the Air under the names of *Juno* and *Venus*, without any reflection upon the time in which he wrote, but only giving an account of the variety of Gentile superstition. But Mr. *Clerkson* is vain enough to be pitied, when he comes to refine upon this mistake, and to comment upon an Author he had not seen. We are told then, that *he*, i. e. *Firmicus*, means that part of Africa then known, and that was it in which the Gospel had found some entertainment. It were very strange if he should mean an unknown part, or that any place then not known should come into his mind. But that Writer gives not the least intimation what part that was; only by the wariness of the word we may conceive, that this was not the general opinion of the Heathen of *Africa*. However he finds long after this, (o) that in most maritime places of Africa, and other parts thereof, Idolatry was in use; and he adds this remark, that most of their Cities were maritime, and those usually most populous. In the first place, that Canon

(n) Assyrij & pars Afrorum Aerem, ducatum habere elementorum volunt—nomine Junonis & Veneris consecrarunt. *Ful. Firmic. de err. prof. Rel.* (o) Cod. Afric. can. 58. ed. Zon. 64.

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does not speak as he makes it; for it is not *most*, but *many* maritime places. Then for Cities there is not a word, but of Country farms and Villages there is; as if the poor remains of Heathenism had been now driven out of the Cities and most eminent Towns, and retir'd to the obscurest places of the Country. And that Heathenism was now in a very low and expiring condition in that Country, appears from the expression of that Canon, (p) in which the *African* Bishops desire the Emperors that the *Reliques of Idols might be destroyed*. Whereupon Zonaras (q) notes, that the Gospel having enlarged its self, the tayl of the Dragon could only move, for the head of it had been bruised before. To conclude then with *Africa*, *This may be the reason*, our Author (r) thinks, *why there were but five Bishopricks in the Province of Tripolis, when they were so numerous in other Provinces; and it is suggested by one of their Councils, (s) those parts of the Country were taken up with Heathens*. He guesses in the dark, and like a Man who had never seen those Canons he speaks of. *Tripolis* was the remotest of the *African* Provinces Eastward, and was bounded by *Ara Philenorum*, where the Egyptian Diocese began. It had but five Bishops, and no African Canon gives any reason for it. The likeliest is, that the Donatist Faction had no great party there, and so it remained con-

(p) ἐγκαταλείμματα τῶν εἰδώλων. (q) Zonar. in Can. 64. (r) Prim. ep. p. 76. (s) Interjacere videtur Barbaræ Gentes.

tent with that number of Bishopricks, which had been anciently established there. But in some African Councils (t) that require many Bishops to be present at Ordinations, and that all attend Synods, they make some abatement in respect of this Province, that but one should be required to attend Synods from that Province. And when some required that no Bishop should be ordein'd without ten or twelve Bishops to assist; *Aurelius* (u) observes, that in *Tripolis* and *Arzua* it would be impossible, because there were but five, and they were encompassed with barbarous Nations, so that they could not be assisted easily from other Provinces; and those barbarous Nations, said to lye between them and the other Bishops, is made a reason why the ancient form should continue, and three Bishops be sufficient for Episcopal Consecration. Now when our Author says *those parts of the Country* were taken up by Heathen; it is said of the Country about *Tripolis*, and not of the Province it self; and therefore it can be no reason of its having few Bishops; since those neighbouring Pagans did not hinder their multiplying of Bishops, but only intercept the communication between them and the other Provinces.

(x) *In the West*, he offers but one instance or two. In *Turin* the Heathen were so prevalent, that the Christians were not suffered to choose a Bishop

(t) Can. Carth. 14. (u) Can. Carth. 54: *περί-
γινεται βαρβαρα ἔθνη. ἐν Τριπόλει πυχόν, ἐν Ἀρζουά
δὴ, &c.* (x) Prim. ep. p. 76.

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after Gratian's decease, *Greg. Turin*, l. 10. c. 43. This *Turin* is, I suppose, *Tours in France*. And *Gregory*, Bishop of that place, does indeed in the last Chapter of the tenth Book of his History, make a recapitulation of the Bishops of that City, of whom *Gratian* was the first, who according to that Author, (y) was sent thither from *Rome* in the first year of *Decius*, which answers the year of Christ 253. according to *Baronius*; (z) but 249, according to Bishop *Pearson*. (a) When this *Gratian* dyed, the See is said to have been void seven and thirty years; but no reason is there assigned for so long a vacancy. But *Gregory* seems to be affraid, there should be many Christians in that part of *Gaule* before *Martin* came to convert the Country. Yet in *Gaule* they could not but be exceeding numerous; since they suffered (b) so little in *Dioclesian's* Persecution, and must consequently become the common refuge of the Christians that fled from other places. But to make short work, and so offer all the rest in one. In *Rome* it self in the fourth Century, the Senate, the Nobles, and the greatest part of the people were given up to *Heathenish Superstitions*. And for this, he refers his Reader to the *Centuriators*. They have indeed several instances to prove that there was a great party of Heathen in that City in the fourth Century. But none of these make it

(y) *Greg. Turon.*
Cypr. Anno. 249.
ff. 16.

(z) *H. l. 10. c. 31.* (a) *Ann.*
(b) *Lactant. de Mort. Persec.*

evident, that the greatest part of the Romans were then Heathen, unless it be a passage of *St. Jerom*, (c) which as it is produced by those Collectors, would make them all Heathen. For they make him say, that the Image of the tutelar Deity is worshiped in every house in *Rome*. But he seems to represent this as a relique of Heathen superstition, that stuck in many places, and was retained even among Christians; and therefore brings it as a parallel instance to match the superstition of the Jews, which they learned from their neighbours. But that the greater part of the people of *Rome* were Christians towards the end of the third Century and the beginning of the fourth, we have a plain testimony from *Eusebius*, (d) who speaking of *Maxentius*, says, that at first he counterfeited himself a Christian to please and flatter the people of *Rome*. Yet *Mr. Clerkson* is of another opinion, and tells (e) us, that a little before, the Christians were but a small part of *Rome*; when with general acclamations the people cried out, Christiani tolerantur duodecies, &c. *Baron. Anno. 301. ff. 3.*

(c) Hoc errore, & pessima consuetudine vetustatis multarum provinciarum urbes laborant. Ipsaque Roma orbis domina. — Ut tam intrantes quam exeuntes domos suas inoliti semper commoneantur erroris. Hieron. In Esa. c. 57. (d) ἀρχόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν λαθ' ἡμῶν πρίν ἢ τ' ἀριστῆα καὶ κολλητὰ τὰ δῖμα τῶν Παυλῶν. Euseb. H. E. l. 8. c. 14. (e) Prim. ep. p. 75.

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But this evidence falls short upon several accounts. First, the authority of it is not very good; it is taken from the acts of *Savinus*, of which *Baronius* published some part: But they are entire in *Baluzius* (f) his Miscellanies. *Baronius* (g) vouches them for sincere and good: and *Baluzius* (h) gives them the same character. But there are some marvelous passages which may make one, who is not very credulous, to doubt; such (i) as the breaking of the Idol of *Jupiter*, made of Coral, by this Martyr, while he was under examination; his restoring sight to the Nephew of *Serena*; his healing and converting of *Vennustianus* president of *Tuscia*, and some other things that taste of Fable. But to let these Acts pass for authentick, it does not follow from the clamour of the people at the *Circensian* games against the Christians, that the greatest part of *Rome* was Heathen. For those who were present at those sports, were generally Heathen. The Christians thinking themselves forbid by their Religion, to go to such shews. So this allegation yeilds but a poor argument against the number of the Christians; since the fact is not very certain, and the consequence far from being good. However, our Author (l) finds that long after this, the Romans were

(f) Baluz. Miscel. l. 2. p. 47.

(g) Anno.

301. 18.

(h) Baluz. Not. in Pass. S. Savini.

p. 463.

(i) Pass. S. Savini. ff. 4. 2, 10, 11.

(l) Prim. ep. p. 77.

generally Heathen. For *Constantine*, after he had been Emperour twenty years, expressing his detestation of the Heathenish Rites, — Incurred the hatred of the Senat and People of Rome, and was reproached in a manner by all the People, *Zosim.* l. 2. And this is assigned as the cause, why he thought of transferring the Imperial Seat. This indeed is said by *Zosimus*, a zealous advocate for Gentile Superstition, and the only design of whose History is to set up the Apostate *Julian* for a Hero, and to disparage all the actions of *Constantine* and the Christian Emperours; and to this purpose he has made a History as fabulous as his Religion, especially where that is concerned. And therefore it is no wonder, if such a one stretch beyond truth in the magnifying his party, and make all the Roman people of his side. That he translated his Imperial Seat, might not be occasioned by the prevalence of Heathenism in Rome; for *Dioclesian* had done (m) the same thing not long before, and made a prodigious expence upon *Nicomedia*, with a design to render it equal to Rome, that had indeed disoblig'd him, but it could not be by being too Heathenish, but by that Liberty, or rather Insolence, which the People used towards their Emperours. Now in *Constan-*

(m) Nicomediam studens urbi Romæ cœquare. Lact. de Mort. Pers. l. 7. cum libertatem populi ferre non poterat, proripit ex urbe. Id. l. 17.

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time, whether it was pique, or desire of glory, to be the founder of a new *Rome*; or a nobler design for the safety of the Empire, to remove the Imperial Seat, and consequently the best and quickest strength of it, nearer to the Barbarous Nations that were then most powerful, is not easy to say at this distance; but for Christianity's sake we ought not to take the reason of an enemy, and especially one of so profligate credit as *Zosimus* was. But within less than twenty years of *Constantine's* reign, the Christians of *Rome* had forty Churches, as we are informed by *Optatus* (n) Bishop of *Milevis*, a writer of that age. And in the later end of that Century *S. Augustin* excuses the practice of *St. Peter's* Church in *Rome*, which was objected against his Reformation in *Hippo*, upon this account, that it was remote from the Bishop. For when *St. Augustin* (o) had resolved to break that custom of Feasting in the Church on Ascension-day, against the general inclination of his people; it was objected, that it was the practice of *St. Peter's* Church in *Rome*, which he excuses from its distance from the Bishop: As appears from one of his Epistles, lately published by the *French Benedictins*.

(n) Optat. Milev. l. 2. (o) Quod remotus sit locus a conversatione Episcopi & in tanta civitate sit magna Carnalium multitudo. August. ep. 29. Ed. Bened.

To make proof of Diocesan Episcopacy in the first ages, it is not requisite that all the World should be Christian, nor that the greater part of every City, where a Bishop was placed, should consist of believers. There were some Cities so populous, that if but the twentieth part were Christians, they must have divided into several Congregations; and there were several others so great, that a tenth part of them would have exceeded the measure of a Congregation. And therefore where the proportion comes to rise nearer to an equality, or to exceed it; most Cities must have more than one assembly, tho' they were confined to one Bishop. Nor was the City all that appertained to the Bishops care; but all the Christians of the territory were of his flock, who were too numerous, and too remote to come to the Bishop's Church upon all occasions of Religion. Yet some Cities from the beginning, others in the third, and several in the middle of the fourth Century are known to have been entirely Christian. *Edeffa* (p) was the metropolis of *Osroena*, and the Seat of the Kings of that Country; but is more renowned for being wholly Christian, even from the beginning of Christianity: and for this reason was avoyded by *Julian* in his *Persian* expedition. *Eusebius* (q) bears testimony of this place, that

(p) Holsten. in Steph. (q) Ἀρχιεὺς πανδημίας
 χριστιανίζων ἔλασεν ἡδε ἡ πόλις. Soz. l. 6. 1. Εἰπέτι τὸ
 εὖν ἐξ ἐκείνης ἡ πάντα τῶν ἐδουσιανῶν πόλις, τῇ τῷ Χριστῷ
 πρὸ ἀνάγκης περὶ σπουδῆς. Euseb. H. E. l. 2. c. 1.

from

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from our Saviours time it had been altogether Christian, and so continued to the age he wrote in. And whether the story of *Abgarus*, and the pretended Letter of our Saviour to him, be true or false; yet this is certain, that this whole City was Christian very early, and consequently had several Congregations and Churches under one Bishop; as *Sozomen* (r) mentions it to have had. *Neocæsarea* in *Pontus* was all Christian in the third Century. And a little Town in *Phrygia* was destroyed upon that account in the beginning of the next. In the reign of *Julian*, *Cæsarea* the greatest City in *Cappadocia* was entirely Christian, and for that reason suffered not a little vexation from that Apostate, who disfranchised it, and confiscated all the goods belonging to the Churches of the City or Territory appertaining to it. And this was an old grudge; for he hated (s) this place mortally from the beginning, as having long before destroyed the Heathen Temples. *Nisibis* the noble bulwark of the Roman Empire, a City so great and populous, (t) that when *Jovian* had by a dishonourable Treaty with the *Persians* given it away; the Citizens beseech him, that they might defend themselves

(r) Soz. l. 6. c. 18. (s) Ἐμίση γὰρ καὶ πρῶτον ἐξαίπον μὴ τὰς αὐτῆς οἰκίτας, ὡς πάνθ' αὐτῶν χειρὶν ζόντας, καὶ πάσαις κατελόντας τὰς νέας. Sozom. l. 6. c. 4.

(t) Πόλιν τοσαύτην καὶ χάσαν τολεμίοις ἐνδοξασάν. δυνήσονται δ' αὐτοὶ σώματιν οἰκίαις καὶ διατηρήσασιν τὴν παρχήσαν αὐτοῖς ἀποκρῖσαι πόλεμον. Zoz. l. 5. c. 33.

against all the power of *Persia*; and they did not doubt, but with their own force, and at their own expence, they might be able to preserve the place, (u) as they had often done. This City was altogether Christian; and therefore, *Julian* (x) upon an irruption of the *Persians*, threatned to leave them out of his law and protection, and that he would never set his foot in such a profane place where his Gods were not worshipped. And all other Cities, that were generally Christian, are said to have the same reception, when they had any occasion to sue for favour. *Samosata* (y) the greatest City, and the Royal seat at *Commagena*, was not only altogether Christian, but all Orthodox and Catholick in *Valens* his time. For (z) when *Eusebius* their Bishop was banished, and one *Ennomius* an *Arrian* put in his place, neither rich nor poor, nor young nor old would go into his Church, or have any communication with him. *Majuma* the Port of *Gaza*, was made a City by *Constantine* the Great, and called *Constantia*, because all (a) the people turned Christians, though before they were extreemly

(u) Ad defendendos penates se solos sufficere sine alimentis publicis & milite — ut experti sunt sæpe. Ammian. Marc. l. 25. c. 9.

(x) Νισιγεννοῖς ὡς παντελῶς χριστιανίζουσι — ἡτέλησε καὶ κατασκευάσαι. Soz. l. 5. c. 3.

(y) Samosata Civitas ampla & illustis. Ammian. Marc. i. 14. Τὰ Σαμώσατα τῆς κομμαγενῆς μεγίστη πόλις. Joseph. B. J. l. 7. c. 28.

(z) Theod. H. E. l. 4. c. 15.
(a) Εἰς χριστιανισμὸν πανδημεὶ μετέβαλεν, Soz. l. 2. c. 5.

addicted to Idols. And that we may not think this a mean place, because it had always been dependant on a City; the Church of that place is represented (b) as very great from the multitude of people and wealth. And that this place had several Churches and Altars belonging to it, we are inform'd by one who was well acquainted with the place, who tells (c) us, that when this Diocese was taken out of that of *Gaza*, the bounds of their respective Territories were laid out, and what Altars or Churches should belong to each. Upon the same account of total conversion to Christianity, in *Constantine's* time, *Constantina* (d) in the same Country had its name; and very many (e) Cities in the same manner, of their own accord, and without any compulsion from the Emperour, left their Idols and became Christian; pull'd down their Temples, and built Churches. In *Antioch*, one of the greatest Cities of the world, the generality of the people were Christians; and for this we have a witness, who cannot be suspected to magnifie their number; it is *Julian* the Apostate, (f) *he had offended so many of that City, he had almost*

(b) Λαὸν καὶ χεῖμασι μεγίστης ἐκκλησίας, Soz. l. 5. c. 28.

(c) Καὶ ὅρας τῶν περὶ ἀγρῶν εἰς τὰ ἀνήκοντα ἐκτετατὴν ἐπισκοπὴν θυσιασθεία διορίξειαι, Soz. l. 5. c. 3.

(d) Soz. l. 2. c. 5. (e) Πλείσται γὰρ καὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις πυνκτοῦτα πρὸς τὴν θρησκείαν ὑπομόλησαν.

(f) Ὑμῶν μὲν πολλὰς καὶ ὀλίγας δὲ φάναι πάντας, τὴν βάλην, τὰς εὐπόρους, τὴν δῆμον, ὅ μὲν γὰρ δῆμος ἀχθῆναι μοι, τῷ πλείῳ μέρει, μάλλον δ' ἅπας ἀπὸ πᾶσα πρηνολομῆν. Julian. Misopog.

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Bishops, others by the people of the place; and the goodness and charity of the Christian inhabitants there were so great, that they gained many of the *Jews*, and almost all the Heathen to become Christians. And even in *Arabia*, where Mr. *Clerkson* could find few or no Christians in *Valens* his time, the great and vast City *Bosra*, for so *Ammianus Marcellinus* (i) calls it, was at least half Christian; as *Titus* the Bishop of the place gave out, who is quoted for it by *Julian* (l) the Apostate. Nay, some Countries are said to be generally Christian, before the end of the third Century. So *Eusebius* (m) represents the *Armenians*, against whom *Maximin* declared War upon that account; and while he endeavoured to force them to Idolatry, instead of friends and confederates, he made them enemies. So wonderfully did the word of God prevail; that to use the words of *Eusebius*, (n) whole myriads of men and women and children, of bond and free, of *Barbarians* and *Greeks*, in every place and City and Country, in every Nation under Heaven, learn the precepts of our holy doctrine, and become the Disciples of Christ.

(o) Nor is our Author contented to reduce the Primitive Christians to a small number, and to render them a mean party in respect of the

(i) Civitates ingentes Bosra, &c. Ammian. Marc.

l. 14. c. 2. (l) Julian. Ep. ad Eosren.

(m) *ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ Χριστιανὸς ὄντας, καὶ πᾶν εἰς τὸ θεῶν εὐσεβεῖαν καὶ σπουδὴν περιέρχουσιν—ἐχθρὸς ἀντιφίλων Καπιτωλίου.* Euseb. H. E. l. 9. c. 8.

(n) Euseb. Præp. Ev. l. 1. p. 12, 13.

(o) Prim. ep. p. 78.

multi-

multitude of the Heathen, even after they were become their masters; but he brings in yet further abatements at the foot of his account, for Jews and Hereticks. *The Jews*, says he, *were numerous in these Cities, and there was no part of the Roman Empire without multitudes of them.* This he proves chiefly out of *Josephus*. But all those Testimonies are too early for the present purpose; and the Synagogues of *Jews*, that *S. Paul* met with in almost every City where he came, were so far from diminishing the numbers of Christians, that their increase was generally from hence. Here the Apostles usually preached the Gospel, till they had changed the Synagogues into Churches. Under *Trajan* and *Adrian* the Jews were very numerous, and their numbers might then tempt them to revolt; but the destruction which they brought upon themselves, was so great, such numbers slain, that they seemed to be near extirpation. After this they were so low, that for some ages they are not mentioned for any enterprize. In the mean time the Christians increased daily, till they prevailed over both Jews and Heathen. And *St. Austin* (p) makes the Christians in his time, to be more numerous than Jews and Idolaters put together; not confining his comparison within the Empire, but making it general; and consequently taking in all the barbarous Nations within his knowledge.

(p) Plures enim jam Christiani sunt, quam si Judæi simul acrorum cultoribus adjungantur. Aug. de Util. Cred.

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Yet in the fourth Century Mr. *Clerkson* brings an instance or two, to shew that in some places the *Jews* were numerous. In *Constantine's* time, says he, (q) they possessed *Dio-cæsarea* and *Tiberias*; *Diospolis* also, and many other Towns; and were so numerous as to raise a war against the Emperour, *Soz.* l. 4. c. 6. That the *Jews* were numerous in that age, especially about *Palestine*, cannot be denied; and that they had several Towns entirely to themselves, *Socrates*, (r) and *Epiphanius* (s) and other Writers affirm. But then these Towns wholly inhabited by *Jews*, are without this question; for these make no abatement of the number of Christians in Cities, where they had Bishops and Churches. It will be of some use, upon this occasion, to clear a passage of *Epiphanius*, which *Petavius* had mistaken. In the relation which *Epiphanius* gives of Count *Joseph* the Jew, among other things he makes him say, that *Ellal* the Jewish Patriarch at the point of death sent for the Bishop of *Tiberias*, and was baptized of him. Whereas then there was neither Bishop nor Church nor Christian in *Tiberias*; and therefore instead of Bishop of that place, he should have rendered (t) a Bishop in the neighbourhood of *Tiberias*. For it was there that the Patriarch resided, and sent for some Bishop of a neighbouring Town. And that the words are thus to be

(q) Prim. ep. p. 80.

(r) Socr. l. 2. c. 3.

(s) Epiph. Hær. 30. ff. 11.

(t) ἐπίσκοπος

ἐπὶ τῷ ἔθνει καὶ τῇ πόλει, Epiph. Hær. 4.

render-

rendered, will be clear from what the same *Joseph* says a little after. When *Constantine* had conferred upon him the honour of a Count, he bid him beg what favour he pleased; but asked only this, that he might have the Emperor's commission (*u*) to build Churches in the Cities and Villages of the *Jews*, where there were none; because there was neither Heathen, nor *Samaritan*, nor Christian among them; and especially in *Tiberias*, and *Diocæsarea*, and *Nazareth*, and *Capernaum*. For in these places they would not suffer any of another Nation to live among them. Now as these places are not for Mr. *Clerkson*'s purpose, while they were wholly possessed of *Jews*; so neither will the objection last long, after Churches were built in them. For (*x*) these *Jews* revolting against *Constantius*, and setting up a Tyrant of their own, one *Patricius*, were totally destroyed by *Gallus*, and *Diocæsarea* razed to the ground.

But the *Jews* also were numerous in these Cities, i. e. where the Heathen are supposed by him to be the major part; and there was no part of the *Roman Empire* without multitudes of them. The ancient instances out of *Josephus* I pass by, as too early, and not to the present purpose.

(u) ἐν πόλεσι καὶ Κώμας τῶν Ἰουδαίων, ἐνθα πρὸς ἐδῆπιον ἔχουσεν οἰκοδομῆσαι ἐκκλησίας, διὰ δὲ μὴ τε ἑλλήνας, μὴ τε σαρμαρείην μὴ τε χριστιανὸν μέσον αὐτῶ ἐῖναι - φυλάσσειται παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸ ἐκτὸς εἶναι πάντα ἀλλὰ ἔθνη. Epiph. Har. n. 11.

(x) Aur. Vict. in Constantio: καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ γὰρ ἐκ τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀντηρήθησαν. Cedren. ad an. 15. Const.

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BUT one thing he offers, that ought not to be omitted, that, (y) *Chrysostom* seems to signify, that in his time, they were as many as the Christians in that City, i. e. in *Antioch*; for he exhorts each of the Christians to reduce one Jew to the Christian profession. To say the truth, this inference does not so much as seem to be reasonable. For first *Chrysostom* could not speak to all the Christians of *Antioch* together, though his voice had been as great as his eloquence; and to strain this expression to the utmost, if it should suppose the Jews as many as those he addressed his discourse to, yet would they be no more than one Christian Congregation, which might possibly be two or three thousand when *Chrysostom* preached; though that great man sometimes in his Sermons complains of the smallness of his auditory. But this is not necessary. For the language of a Preacher is not to be examined by the rules of an accountant; nor when he exhorts every one to convert his man, is he supposed to be telling of heads, and comparing of parties. But since the Jews would admit no publick exhortation then, as they do endure in some places since for forms sake; this zealous Preacher for the advancement of Christianity, and the saving of Souls, might direct his people, as they have occasion, to deal privately and apart with the Jews, and to endeavour every one to gain his convert.

(y) Prim. ep. p. 81.

And

And this I have said to shew the inconclusiveness of Mr. *Clerkson's* arguments. But in truth the whole is a down-right fraud. For St. *Chrysostom* in the place cited, directs not every Christian to convert his Jew; but every zealous and faithful Christian to endeavour to reclaim or convert his brother, and that whether Heathen, or Jew, or (which he there chiefly intends) negligent Christian. A little before he had lamented the carelessness of Christian masters, who permitted their wives or servants to frequent the Theaters, or the Synagogues of the Jews; when it was in their power to restrain them, and by that influence which they had over them, dispose them either to embrace the Christian Religion, or more strictly live up to the rules of it, if already embraced. For this frequenting of the Jewish Synagogues in these persons, arose not from the belief of the Jewish Religion, but from the same vanity which induced them to frequent the Theaters, that is, the pleasure of seeing pompous and even theatrical ceremonies practised in them. For so *Chrysostom* argueth with them. *Tell me, what is it that you run to see in the Synagogue of the Jews? To hear men sound with trumpets?* For it appears, that the Jews retained that custom, and strived to perform it with great art, in their religious service; which might draw great numbers of idle persons, whether Christians or Heathens, to hear them. Such persons ought no more be supposed to have been Jews, than all those to have been Papists, whose vain curiosity tempted them to enter the Popish Chappels in the last reign.

As

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As for the Jews dispersed over the Empire, it does not appear they were in any City so numerous as to bear any near proportion to the inhabitants of the place. Of old indeed in *Alexandria*, and some Cities of *Syria*, they were exceeding numerous: But then they were original inhabitants of those places, and not strangers. But in the fourth Century, of which we are now speaking, tho' every where almost there were some, yet were there not very many in any one place, excepting their own Country. We may judge by what we see now; there is scarce any great Town of trade in *Europe*, where there are not some Jews. And in many Countries they may be said to be numerous; but still they bear no proportion to the Natives. And I do not know, whether there be any City in *Europe* where they are so many in proportion to the other people, as one to an hundred. And this is so small a matter, that it does not deserve any consideration. It is as if in the computation of what water a river may discharge in a day, a man should be scrupulous to make allowance for the drinking of a few Horses.

When he had brought Christians very low, by great favour and partiality towards Heathens and Jews; he thinks fit at last to divide this small party, and with a true spirit of a Dissenter, to draw away as many as he could from the Communion of the Bishop. To this purpose therefore he tells (z) us, *There re-*

(z) Prim. ep. p. 81.

mains another sort of people, inhabitants of these Cities, to be taken notice of, whose numbers made the Christian assemblies thinner, and the Bishops flocks less numerous.—Such as were called Hereticks or Sectaries; these were many, and had Bishops of their own. So that there were several Bishopricks in one City. There is scarce an age since the Apostles, in which the Predictions of St. Peter and St. Paul, that there would be Heresies, were not sadly accomplished. Yet it pleased the same providence, that checks the increase of noxious and venemous Creatures, to put likewise some stint to the growth and spreading of this evil, and to lessen the mischief of these Wolves in sheeps cloathing, by not permitting them to multiply into too great numbers. So that St. Austin (a) even in the midst of *Afric*, the most divided with Sects of any Christian Country in that age, does not stick to affirm, that the Catholick Christians, were more than all the Sectaries put together. And Sozomen (b) observes, that all other Hereticks, but the *Novatians*, from the very beginning were but few. The *Novatians* therefore Mr. Clerkson chuses to insist on, and from their number to let the Reader judge of the rest. (c) For by the multitude of them we may conjecture what all the rest, put together, would amount to. Let us therefore try, what deductions these may make from the Diocese of the Ortho-

(a) Aug. de Util. Cred.

(c) Prim. ep. p. 82.

(b) Sozom. l. 2. c. 32.

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dox Bishop. He tells us then, that *they were many from first to last: And that they had a Diocese in Rome, and Alexandria, and Constantinople, where it continued with publick liberty longer.* And to make short, they had Bishops and Churches in many other places. But to come near, and to make some guess of their number, he tells us, at *Constantinople, their Churches were more confirmed and enlarged under one Chrysanthus their Bishop.* And in *Rome, Innocent took many Churches from them: And Celestine deprived them of more.* And to conclude, till that time they had mightily flourished at *Rome, having many Churches and great multitudes of People.* What, had these *Novatians* then many Churches in one City? I had almost been tempted to think by *Mr. Clerkson's* former discourse, that one Church had been sufficient for all the Christians of the greatest City in the Empire; and yet it seems one single Sect could not be content with one Church, but they must have many under one Bishop. Well then, these were Dissenters, and they may have what they please; and yet we shall see in the next Chapter, how hard he is towards Catholic Christians, for these must be no more than may meet in one place, even in *Rome* and *Constantinople.* We expect no favour then; but let us not be pressed to death, while we are willing to plead. There were, he says, in the fourth Century several Sects: Of these the *Novatians* the most numerous: These in *Constantinus* his time had (d) three Churches in

(d) Secr. l. 2. c. 28.

Constantinople, under one Bishop. The Catholics, or established Christians before this time upon a very low computation, were twenty times as many; and these with all the Country Parishes of that Diocese, had but one Bishop: yet they are to have but one Church, if our Author may have his way. *Rome* and *Constantinople* are a great way off; and the times of which our Author speaks, were very remote from ours. But let us try whether we may not comprehend this matter without travel or much reading, and make *London* the Scene of our Discourse; for as great and populous as it is, it may receive no disparagement by the comparison with old or new *Rome*. Now in *London* there is a Sect or two ambitious of being thought to have some resemblance to the *Novatians*; and that they may not be displeased, let them be more numerous; instead of three Churches, let them have ten Meetings. The other Sects who can speak of numbers too, may have their assemblies as convenient as they please, and not crush or hurt one another for want of room; yet the Bishop of the place will scarce be able to assemble his flock, even of the City, in any one Church, tho' *Pauls* were finished: For if you should happen to be late on Sunday morning; go to *St. Clements*, and there's no room; go to *St. Martins*, and it's all full; go to the *Abbey*, and you can scarce come within hearing; and at *St. Gile's*, you will be throng'd; and if you walk to *St. Andrews*, you may have no seat. I might add near a hundred Congregations more within the lines,
of

of which many are as considerable as these I mentioned, and all this in a City which is much inferior for number of people to those old ones of which our Author speaks. You may see therefore by this, how much thinner a multitude of Sects, and some of them numerous, will render the Bishops flock, in such great Cities as we have been speaking of; and what mighty abatements are to be made in the number of the Church Christians, upon the account of three Conventicles of the *Novarians*, in a City that wanted not much of a million of Souls. But we have made no allowance for Heathen, which in the fourth Century were numerous, and now are grown rare. But the sluggish and irreligious brutes in our greatest Cities may be reckoned against them, and our account remain as it was; and I am afraid that about *London* there may be more of these, than there were Heathens in *Constantinople*.

I need not shew, says our Author, (c) how predominant Arrianism was in the greatest part of the Christian World. Ingenuit totus orbis, & Arrianum se esse miratus est. When it possessed the whole Orient, having none to oppose it but Athanasius and Paulinus. Adv. Job. Hierosol. That the Arrian party or faction was very great under Constantius and Valens, is certain; but that the Sect was very numerous, I find no reason to believe. I am sure the passage of St.

(c) Prim. ep. p. 83.

Jerom, which is much oftner cited than understood, intends no such thing ; but the quite contrary. For *Jerom* (*h*) speaking of the Council of *Rimini*, endeavours to shew that the Bishops there were Orthodox : that they confirmed the *Nicene* Faith ; that they condemned *Arrianism* ; that they left out the word *Consubstantial*, not because they condemned the sense of it, but for accomodation, and because it seemed to give offence ; that they pronounced anathema on all those who denyed Christ to be eternal God, or affirmed him to be made of nothing. Wherefore thinking they had done well and wisely, they return home in great hopes that the East and West were now reconciled, and that this small alteration had begot an eternal Peace. But when the *Arrians* had obtained their point, and had excluded the word Substance out of the Creed, they began to proclaim (*g*) their Conquest, and to triumph as if the *Nicene* Faith had been abolished. Then the Bishops began to perceive the trick. So that the whole World wondred to see it self become *Arrian* ; not that they were really so ; but only that they had been imposed upon by fair pretences, to give the *Arrians* some advantage, for which they were sensibly grieved ; and therefore as soon as they

(f) *Ulixæ* nomen. — quia in Scripturis, aiebant, non invenitur, & multos simpliciores novitate sua scandalizat, placuit auferri. Non erat curæ Episcopis de vocabulo, cum sensus esset in tuto. Hieron. adv. Lucif.

(g) Sine conscientia Hæretici ferebantur.

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found their mistake, some immediately joyned Communion with the Confessours in Banishment; the rest as soon as they had opportunity, renounced all Communion with the *Arrians*, and were received into the Church; not as Hereticks returned, for they never had been Hereticks, but as persons deceived by fair words to joyn with those who were indeed secretly Hereticks: But their expressions (*b*) bore a fair construction, and their words were Catholick; and it seemed (*i*) unreasonable they should be condemned for *Arrians*, who had never been so. This passage then of *Jerom* is brought in by *Mr. Clerkson*, directly against the intention of the Author.

Nor is it any more to the intent of the present question, or any way serviceable to our Author's purpose, which is to render the flocks of the Bishops of those times thinner. for the flocks of these Bishops did all adhere to them: and when (*l*) some persons, of more zeal than discretion, attempted to depose some of them, and ordein others in their place; their people were so concerned, that they were ready to stone those obtruders.

(*b*) Sonabant verba pietatem, nemo venenum insertum putabat. Hieron. adv. Lucif.

(*i*) Cur damnassent eos qui *Arriani* non erant? Id.

(*l*) Cum omnes populi Sacerdotes suos diligentes, p^{er}ne ad lapides, & interemptionem deponentium eos convincerint. Hieron. adv. Lucif.

The same answer is to be made to the other passage of *St. Jerom*, that in the East there were but *Athanasius* and *Paulinus* to oppose the *Arrians*: Not that all the rest, or the greater number were Hereticks, or would not oppose the Doctrin of *Arrius*; but those two only did in an eminent manner oppose the designs of these Hereticks, which were covered over with specious pretences of peace and sincerity of belief, so as to impose in a manner upon the whole Church. But the number of that Sect is no more to be taken from the party they once prevailed upon to joyn with them, against a few Bishops, whom they traduced as Authors of all those publick distractions, which they themselves had caused, and pretended that the Faith was not concerned; than the numbers of our Sects are to be estimated from the interest which upon some occasions they can make against some great men, who seem to stand most in their way, and to give the greatest obstruction to their designs.

In all *Constantine's* time the *Arrians* had no separate Congregations, excepting what the Author of the Sect made for a little while in *Alexandria*. And when Bishops and whole Provinces took parties in this quarrel; the separation was of one City or Province from another, and not of the people from their respective Bishops; and in a little time, all acquiesced in the Decree of *Nice*, (*m*) which received no

(m) Socr. l. i. c. 25.

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open contradiction during the reign of *Constantine*; (n) and prodigious accessions being made to the Church under that reign, the Cities must be thronged with Christians, and the generality of Bishops, even in respect of the Towns where they resided, must be Diocesan. All Sects were very inconsiderable in his time, being suppressed by publick authority, and all their Meetings forbid by the Emperour's Edicts; (o) which had that effect, that the greatest part joyned themselves sincerely to the Church, and all the rest in appearance, so that there remained no meeting of Dissenting Christians in all the Empire; and even the *Novatians* were comprehended in the same Law.

Under the next reign the *Arrians* covered themselves with a pretence of owning no other Doctrin but that already established in the Church, and laid all the blame upon *Athanasius*, as a man of a restless and turbulent spirit, that would not suffer the Church to be in peace. Nor were there many separate Congregations upon this account, the people generally following the Bishops set over them, under a perswasion that they were found as to the Faith; and for those Bishops who were displaced, care was taken, that they should be thought to suffer not upon the account of their Faith, but of some other high misdemeanors. In some few of the greatest Cities

(n) Euseb. vit. Const. l. 3. c. 57.

(o) Euseb. vit. Const. l. 3. c. 63, 64, 65, 66.

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(n) Euseb. vit. Const. l. 3. c. 57.

(o) Euseb. vit. Const. l. 3. c. 63, 64, 65, 66.

there were tumults on this occasion ; but in general there was a submission to publick order ; and a great part of the World was carried away, not by the doctrin, but the dissimulation of the *Arrians*. Yet still the Episcopal Diocesess remained as they were, without any considerable seperations. When *Athanasius* died, its said, there were but few *Arrians* in (p) *Alexandria*. In (q) *Basil's* time, there were but very few in comparison of the whole infected with that disease. At *Rome* there were scarce any. And (r) in the West they were hardly known otherwise than by report, till the *Goths* had planted themselves in that part of the Empire. So that the Orthodox Bishops were not reduced to a single Congregation by the separation of the *Arrians*; their Cities only being supposed to make up their whole Diocesess. Our Author is liberal, and will not insist upon the prevailing of the *Donatists* ; and therefore I need not say that the case of *Afric* was singular, being torn into very small Diocesess : and yet even in that, there were some large, some free from the *Donatists*, and had no other Bishop but that of the established Church ; as appears by several answers of the

(p) ἐν Ἀρειανῶν καὶ ὁμῶν πυχλόντες. SOCR. l. 4. c. 22.

(q) Basil ep. 72. περιέλαψατε εἰς πᾶν οἰκουμένην ἡ ἰδέτε δι' ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τῷ οὐδὲ μέρει τῷ ἰεροστανός, ἡ ἡ λ. 17ῃ πᾶσι ἐκκλησίαις. ἅπαντα πρὸς τὴν εἰρήνην— ἐπὶ τῷ οὐδὲ μέρει διδασκαλίας.

(r) οἱ γὰρ (sc. πᾶσι) ἐν ἰουδαίᾳ καὶ τὰ ἐσπέρια μέρη τῆς ἰουδαίας. τῶν οὖν μέρους τῆς ἐν Νικαίᾳ οὐδὲ παρὰ τὰ ὁμῶν καὶ ἡλ. SOCR. l. 2. c. 2.

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Bishops in the Conference at *Carthage*. Nor will he tell us, *how the Macedonians did abound*, in many places. Nor will he *so much as name the other numerous Sects, which had their distinct Churches and Bishops*; so that there were sometimes four or five of several persuasions seated in that City. I have, I think, made allowance enough for them all; and yet in great Cities left more Churches for the Bishops, than all the Conventicles of Sectaries thrice told would amount to.

Now to sum up this evidence, and (s) to draw this Discourse into an issue: Suppose we a City forty furlongs in compass, (than which there were few bigger) let us allow half to Heathens, and a third or fourth to Jews and Novatians; and the proportion left Christians will not exceed the dimensions of a small Town, &c. But we have taken notice of some Cities of more than forty furlongs, that were wholly Christian. I have mentioned others exceeding great, in which there were but very few Heathen. I have instanced in some that had no Dissenters or Sectaries; and shew'd in general, that all the World over, those who were without the pale of the Church of all Sects, were nothing so considerable as our Author would represent them. And here we might conclude this Chapter, but for the particulars which follow, and require further examination.

When our Author had made the largest allowances, for Heathens, and Jews and Secta-

(s) Prim. ep. p. 84.

ries, as if they had been all to poll for the Dissenters, and left the Catholick Christians so destitute, that there seemed to be no place left them in the greatest Cities; he thought (a) it might be more satisfactory yet, to make this evident in some particular Cities; and those of the greater, nay, some, of the greatest. Berytus, he says, was an eminent City,—and yet it had but one Church in Julian's time, which was then burnt by Magnus. *Ἡ Βερυτιανὴ ἐκκλησία ἐμπερήσας.* It is not one of the Churches, but the Church of Berytus, Theod. 1. 4. c. 20. If our Author had been a little better versed in the language of the ancient Church; he could not have thought this instance, or his deduction from it, very satisfactory. For the Church in Ecclesiastical Writers does not denote the only Church, or signify to the exclusion of any other; but expresses only the Cathedral or Bishops Church. And that this may be clear beyond all cavil, I will offer some passages, where the same expression is used, in Cities known to have a great number of Churches. *Alexandria* is allowed by all to have had many Churches in the beginning of the fourth Century; and the testimony of *Athanasius*, (b) and *Epiphanius*, (c) sets it beyond contradiction: yet *Gregory* the *Arrian* Bishop is said (d) to be removed, because he had become odious to the people, for

(a) Prim. ep. p. 84.

(b) Athan. Apol. 2.

(c) Epiph. Hær. 69.

(d) *διὰ τὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐμπερήσας.* Socr. l. 2. c. 14.

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the burning of the Church. He says not one of the Churches, would our Author reason, but the Church; yet for all this there were many other Churches in that City. To the same purpose, when *Athanasius* was forced to fly from *Alexandria*, the Soldiers are said (e) to encompass the Church, without any distinction which it was; and the Bishop said to be driven out of the Church, intending only the principal Church, and that which was called so by way of eminence; which is sometimes styled the great Church. So *Theodorus Lector* (f) speaking of *Gennadius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, takes notice, that he was the first that appropriated to the City Parishes all the oblations that should be made in them; whereas before the great Church carried away all. And *Nicephorus* (g) speaking of the same thing, calls it the Catholick Church. In the same manner likewise, is *Epiphanius* (h) understood by *Valesius*, (i) when he speaks of the Catholick Church of *Alexandria*. And thus perhaps may *Cornelius* his expression in *Eusebius* be best understood, that in the Catholick Church there ought to be but one Bishop. For although in one City there may be many Parish-Churches, appointed for the use of the several quarters where they are placed; yet is

(e) τὴν μὲν ἐκκλησίαν αὐτὴν περιεκύκλωσε, — ὑπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐξελθόντας. *Athan. Apol* 2. p. 717. *Socr. l. 2. c. 11.* (f) *Theod. Lect. l. 1. p. 553. Ed. Val.*
 (g) *Niceph. H. E. l. 15. c. 22.* (h) *Epiph. Hær. 69.*
 (i) *H. Valesi. in Theodor. Lect. p. 162.*

there but one common, or general or Catholic Church in one City.

Rome had many Churches, when the schism of *Ursicinus* happened to divide it; and long before that time there were no less than forty. Yet *Socrates* (l) speaking of the ordination of *Ursicinus*, observes that it was not done in the Church, but in a private place of the Church, called *Sicine*, or *Sicininus*; (m) that is, in the Church of *Sicininus*, which was but an obscure place, in comparison of the great Church.

In *Constantinople* there were many Churches from the beginning. Yet in *Constantinus* his time, *Socrates* (n) speaks of the Emperours order to drive *Paul* out of the Church of that place, and to put *Macedonius* into possession of it. Wherefore (o) after *Paul* was sent to banishment, the Prefect took *Macedonius*, and brought him toward the Church; and when they came near to the Church, and the people strove to get into the Church. Though all the while it is notorious, (p) there were many Churches in the place, though this was then the Cathedral. Or if our Author may fancy this City still to have but one Church; yet we

(l) *χρησιμεύεται ἐκ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἄλλῃ, ὅπου τῆς βασιλικῆς Σικινῆς.* Socr. l. 4. c. 29.

(m) *Ammian. Marcell. l. 27. c. 3.* (n) *τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐκείνης, ἀντιπάλῃ τῇ ἐκ τῆς Μακεδονίου.* Socr. l. 2. 16.

(o) *ἐκ τῆς δημοσίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὸ τῆς.* — *ἔχοντι καταλαμβάνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν σπουδαζόντες, πλεον τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγένετο.* Socr. *ibid.*

(p) Socr. l. 2. c. 12.

have the same language long after, even in *Chrysostom's* time, who upon his return is said (q) to be brought by the people to the Church. And by this time sure there must be many Churches in that City; or some unknown destruction must have befallen those magnificent houses of God in that place, so much celebrated by some of the Writers of that age. So the inference our Author draws from this expression, *the Church of Berytus*, to the exclusion of all other Churches, proves a mistake. But he proceeds to observe farther, (r) that *Tyre was one of the most illustrious Cities of the East*;—yet *Paulinus Bishop there in Constantine's time, had but so many under his Episcopal charge*, (s) as he could take a personal notice of their souls, and accurately examine the inward state of every one,—acquainting himself thoroughly with the condition of all those souls that were committed to him. And that you may be sure that all this is just and exact, without Hyperbole, he quotes his Author, as the *Panegyrist in Eusebius informs us*, l. 10. c. 4. It is usual in Panegyrics to raise things beyond nature, and the strictness of truth; and it is allowed, as long as the proportions and resemblance of the things so represented are pre-

(q) Socr. l. 6. c. 16. Pallad. Vit. Chryf. p. 15, 16, 24, 25. Chryf. Ep. ad Innocent. (r) Prim. Ep. p. 85.

(s) επισκοπεῖν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῶν ὑμετέρων ψυχῶν διεσπασμένων ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσσειν, p. 276. τὴν τῶν κληρικῶν ψυχῶν ἐνδιαιτήσασθαι, καὶ φιλοκαλεῖσθαι διδόναι, p. 285.

served.

served. What therefore if *Eusebius* by all this citation should intend only to commend the diligence and the penetration of that Bishop of *Tyre*, that he had the gift of discerning spirits, and of judging aright, whose repentance was sincere, and therefore to be received into communion; whose conversion was unfeigned, and therefore to be admitted to baptism; who was best qualified for the respective offices of the Church? If he should mean no more by these high expressions, he would not exceed much the allowances given to such kinds of discourse; and I think they are more to blame, that would force a complement into a Syllogism. It is scarce worth the while to say so much as is necessary for the illustration of this passage, only to shew at last, to how little purpose it was alledged. Yet since this instance of *Tyre* comes in among the rest, because he esteemed it more satisfactory than ordinary, I must beg the Reader's patience to explain the matter. *Eusebius* (t) in his Panegyrick, delivered at the Dedication of the Church of *Tyre*, commends not only the fabrick, but the spiritual Church, or the Christians of that City. And *this Temple*, says the Panegyrist, is *very great indeed, and worthy of God. The inside of this Temple, who can describe? who can look into it but the great high Priest, who alone has authority to enter into this Holy of holies, and to search the secrets of the heart? And happily it may be given to one more*

(t) Euseb. E. H. l. 10. c. 4. p. 375.

in the second place, and by way of substitute, that is, to him who sits there, the leader of this noble Army. To him therefore, as a high Priest after Christ, it may be lawful, to look into the most secret parts of your souls; or as Mr. Clerkson translates, to take a personal notice of your souls, and to examine the inward state of every one. Now Eusebius says not the least word that Paulinus had but so many under his charge, that he could look into all their souls; but (u) that it was lawful for him to do so, to be an inspector or Bishop of their souls. And this to be understood with respect to the Bishops office, who received the publick confessions in the Church, and was the Judge of the sincerity of the profession, as far as Ecclesiastical Discipline was concerned. And all this might be said, although he had had forty Parish-Churches within his City. Valesius mentions a marginal note of some Greek set against this place, in a Manuscript that he had seen, detesting it as a wicked and blasphemous passage. He thought Eusebius had spoken those things of Christ which he directed to the Bishop. But though there are some expressions below the majesty of Christ; yet are there others, that are something too high to be offered to man. The other passage out of the same Oration, that speaks of Paulinus, as, thoroughly acquainting himself with all those souls committed to him, will appear as little to our Author's purpose; if we do but observe what goes before

(u) *ὅτι ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐξουσιάζει ἐν τοῖς ψαλμοῖς*, EUSEB. l. 10. c. 4. p. 385.

it. For *Eusebius* speaking to those who had defiled their consciences in the Persecution, by complying with the wicked decrees of the Persecutors: *And you*, says he, *whose consciences a little while ago were polluted, and overwhelmed by profane commands, have your minds now cleansed by the terrours of God's law, and are by him committed to the Bishop; who as he is otherwise of excellent judgment, so hath he a singular sagacity in judging of the thoughts of souls.* These words then are directed to such as had fallen in the late Persecution, and were now in the state of Penitents, or had lately been so. And it is with respect to them; that the discretion of the Bishops is commended, that he can see into the very secret of their hearts, and distinguish between the hypocrite and the sincere. And *Paulinus* his case is very singular, if his whole Church consisted of none but Penitents; it must be thin indeed, for these were scarce reckon'd within the Church. So little to the purpose is this *satisfactory instance*; and so far it is from proving that for which it was produced, that the Bishop of Tyre had but so many under his charge, as he could take personal notice of their souls.

(x) *Synnada* is the next instance; where our Author fancies, that all the people were no more than one Church would contain; which he thus endeavours to prove. *Agapitus* the Macedonian Bishop on a sudden turns Orthodox, and calling together the people under him, perswades them to

(x) Prim. ep. p. 35, 16.

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it. *This done with a great multitude, (y) yea with all the people, he hastens into the Church.* But with what people? of the City? *Socrates* says no such thing, nor could they be aware of what was doing in the *Macedonian meeting*. The people then that went with him, were no other than those who were with him, whom he perswaded to receive the true faith. For as soon as he had done perswading them, immediately he went out; and it seems his perswasion was so effectual, that a great multitude, or rather the whole people, went with him towards the Church. This is what *Socrates* says, and this is the most rational way of understanding him. But tho' he should mean all the people of the Town, or all the Christians; yet he does not say that one Church could contain them, but that this Bishop went with them towards the Church. Whether they could all get in, or joyn with him, is still uncertain, for any thing that Author says. But the truth is, though it should have been affirmed expressly of all the people of the City, yet can it be understood no otherwise than such expressions generally are, only for a great and unusual concourse. And after all, this Bishop was a Diocesan, for he had many Churches belonging to him, as is noted by *Socrates* (z) in the same place.

(y) μακρόν δὲ πᾶσι τῷ λαῷ. Socr. l. 7. c. 3.

(z) τῷ ὑπὸ Σύνοδου ἐκκλησιῶν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ.
Socr. l. 7. c. 3.

(x) *Cyzicus* follows, as great a City, says our Author, as any in Asia, for which he quotes *Strabo* and *Florus*; to which I will add, that it was no less considerable under *Constantius*. For *Gotofred's* old Geographer (b) says, that for its greatness and situation it surpasses all praise. Now it cannot but grieve one to think, that such a noble City should be so disaffected to the Christian Religion, that after the middle of the fourth Century it should seem to our Author, (c) that all the Christians in this City were no more than could meet together in one place, to hear the recantation of *Eleusius*. This is sad indeed; but since our Author is apt to diminish Christians sometimes without reason, let us examine this matter a little farther; for possibly this may be no truer than the rest. This *Eleusius*, he says, being frighted into a subscription to *Arrianism*, declared before them all, the force that was put upon him, ἐν παντὶ λαῷ, coram universo populo, in the hearing of all the people, *Socr.* l. 4. c. 16. But this expression, though translated into seventy languages, will never prove that all the Christians in *Cyzicus* were present at this Recantation, or that they could all meet in one Church. Such phrases as these, all the people, all the multitude, are to be always limited by the place and other circumstances, expressed or supposed in the discourse. When our Saviour spoke in the Temple, (d) all the people are said to be

(a) Prim. ep. p. 86.

(b) τὸν δὲ μέγιστον Κυζικίου, ἢ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι, ὃ ἀνέβη, πάντα ἑσπέρην ἐκκλησίαν δύναται, Geogr. Vct. Gotofr.

(c) Luke 19. 48.

(d) Prim. ep. p. 87.

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very attentive, and to hang upon him; not all the people of *Jerusalem* surely, but only the people there present. So the woman, who with a religious confidence touched the hem of our Saviours garment, is said to declare to him before (e) *all the people*, how she was healed. When *Boniface* was chosen Bishop of *Rome*, it is said (f) to be confirmed by the *acclamation of the whole people*. It was now in the fifth Century, and the Roman Christians too many to be any longer suspected for a Congregational Diocese. When the people cryed Anathema upon *Nestorius* in the Church of *Mosinus* in *Constantinople*, it is said to be done (g) by the united voice of all the people of the City. And when (h) *Nectarius* was chosen Bishop of *Constantinople*, it is said to be done in the presence of the Emperour, and by the suffrage of the whole City. And now surely one Church could not hold all the Orthodox Christians of that City; for at this time *Gregory Nazianzen* lets the Synod know, that he had fill'd all the Churches of that City, though now another reaped the crop for which he had laboured. There may be instances of this kind produced without end; for it is the common language of all the world, to say a thing was done in the presence of all the people, when only the people who are present are intended, and not

(e) Luke 8. 47. (f) *Acclamatione totius populi asseruimus.* Baron. An. 419. n. 13.

(g) *μὲν δὲ πάντες πόντοιν.* Ep. ad Orthodox. ap. Conc. Ephes.

(h) Ep. Syn. C.P. ad occid. apud Theod. l. 5. c. 9.
ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πάντων τῆς πόλεως.

all the people of a City or of a Country, or all the Christians of a place. And it is seldom that any Writer uses any word of limitation upon these occasions, as *Cyprian* (i) in one place doth, speaking of the election of *Cornelius*, that it was by the suffrage of *the people that were then present*; when this is understood of course, and needs no word of caution to suggest it.

So that *all the people*, which our Author fancied to comprehend all the Christians of *Cyzicus*, did signify but those who were present, without any regard to the number of Christians in that place. And that they had more than could meet in one Church, we may reasonably infer from the multitude of Churches said to be in that City at the same time. For when *Elensius* was put out, and *Eunomius* thrust into his place, he is said (l) to possess himself not of one Church, but of *the Churches* of *Cyzicus*. Now to make it more likely, that there were but few Christians in this great City, he takes notice, (m) that *in Julian's time the greatest part of the Citizens were Heathen, the City sending their Deputies to him, (as about other affairs) so for the re-edifying of their Idol Temples*. This Act does not necessarily conclude the Heathen to be the major part. Few men in place, and countenanced by an Emperour, may procure such a Petition as this in the name of a City, when much the greater part might be far from

(i) De plebis, quæ tunc adfuit, suffragio. Cypr. Ep.

(l) Sozom. l. 6. c. 8. (m) Prim. ep. p. 86.

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liking it. We have instances of this nature fresh in our remembrance, and perhaps too odious to be mentioned. Besides there were *Jews* and *Novatians*, and *Arrians* here; and so there might be very great numbers, and yet twenty Churches not be sufficient to receive the Christians of the established Religion.

It must be confessed, that all other Cities must be delivered up to the Congregational pretensions, if *Constantinople* may be reduced to a single Church. And Mr. *Clerkson* fancied he had discovered the weakness of the Christians of this place, by a passage in *Theodoret*. (n) In Alexander's time,—the Christians were no more than could all meet together; so *Theodoret* informs us, *συνεῖν σὺν πῶσι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐκτελέσαι*, l. i. c. 14. i. e. the Bishop of the place performed divine service with all the Brethren: what! with all the brethren of *Constantinople*? No; but with all the brethren there assembled. The import of this expression has been considered already, and this very passage has received (o) an answer long since. But afterwards, he observes, many falling off to *Arrianism*, the remainder made but *ποιμνὴν μικράν*, a little flock. This does not prove but before this defection the Bishop of *Constantinople's* flock was very great, and required many Churches to assemble in. And after this defection, the *Arrian* Bishop, whom most of the Christians followed, had many Churches and Congrega-

(n) Prim. ep. p. 87, 88.

(o) Vindicat. Prim. Ch. pref.

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(o) Vindicat. Prim. Ch. pref.

tions under him. For the people in many places not understanding the danger of the *Arrian* Communion, did not think it necessary to separate, and therefore continued to repair to those Churches whither they used to resort before. So that the Episcopacy of the place remained Diocesan, though it happen'd to be placed in wrong hands. And soon after the people were recovered from these wolves, and delivered to faithful shepherds. Yet even then Mr. *Clerkson* can find but one Congregation there; for in the time of Theodosius Junior, it seems all amounted to no more than one Church could contain, if Socrates deceive us not, l. 4. (it should be the 7th) c. 23. ὅλη πόλις μὲν ἐκκλησία ἐγένετο, i. e. all the City became but one Church. It is a dangerous thing I see, to venture upon a figure, if men will be such rigid exactors of literal sense. The Historian might fancy he had spoken eloquently, when instead of saying, that there was a great confluence of people to the Church, he chose to express himself thus, that the whole City became one Church. But the poor man is taken up short, at his word; and if he do not make it out, that the greatest City then in the world, was not literally one Congregation, he must pass for an extravagant Writer, and one that deceiveth us. Yet though it should happen that all the City, or all the Christians, had not been there to a man; it is not *Socrates* that deceives us, while he uses a form of speech generally

(p) Prim. ep. p. 88.

allowed and understood ; but it is Mr. *Clerkson* deceives himself, when he snatcheth such expressions as this against all fair ways of understanding, to give evidence to his notion. Those who give themselves up to serve an opinion, are apt to catch at any thing they meet for a weapon to defend it ; and this Tyrant is so absolute, and the Slave so fond, that there is no place left for examination or doubt ; nor can that pertinent question of the Prophet (q) *is there not a lie in my right hand*, obtain any hearing.

I have already shewed the greatness of this City, which our Author would reduce to a single Congregation, that even in *Constantine's* time it was equal to the greatest of the Empire. I have shewed, that this was a Christian City from the foundation, and the people generally devoted to the Religion of their Founder. That in *Constantine's* time Sectaries could not lessen the Church of the Bishop in that place, since they were not only discountenanced in that reign, but by the Edicts of the Emperour obliged to go to Church, which they generally did observe ; some sincerely, and the rest by outward compliance. The *Arrians*, or *Eusebians* had then no separate Congregations ; they made then indeed a faction, but not a schism in the Church ; and laboured with all their interest to restore those to Communion, who had been cast out by the censures of the Church, upon the account of those opinions. I have

(q) *Is. 44. 20.*

shewed, how that Emperour built (r) very great and many Churches there, because few were not sufficient to receive the multitude. And now if so great a City, so affected to Christianity, can make but one Church after all; what Preacher (s) can there be found, what voice sufficient for such an assembly, what Temple capacious enough to receive it? *St. Sophia* is accounted the greatest of Christian Churches, that the Sun ever shined on. And I remember to have (t) read that in *Bajazets* reign, six and thirty thousand Turks visited that Church in one day; though I can scarce believe, as vast as that Church was, that it could hold so many together. Yet even this number comes far short of the Christians in *Constantine's* time, and much shorter yet of the Christians of *Constantinople* under the younger *Theodosius*, when Paganism was every where expiring, if not quite extinguished, and the *Arrians* and other sects reduced to the Church, and that City arrived to its highest point of greatness; yet even then our Author can afford the Bishop but one Congregation.

(u) *At Ancyra the chief City of Gallatia*, our Author takes notice that there were many sects, by which that Church was torn in pieces. All this may very well be, and yet more than one

(r) Theod. H. C. l. i. c. 6.
emperores; Arist. Polit. l. 2.

triginta sex millia, qui illud religionis ergo adirent
 numerata fuisse Ant. Maxenius auctor est. Geo. Doula:
 de Kin. C. P. no. p. 37.

(s) *ὁ ἱερεὺς*
 (t) Sub *Bajazet* he
 (u) Prim. ep. p. 38.

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Congregation remain to the Bishop. The same thing may be said of several of our Cities, inferior perhaps to *Ancyra*; and yet those of the established Religion, notwithstanding the variety of the Sects, require many Churches to assemble in. (x) *The like may be said of Cæsarea, the chief City in Mauritania* (the reason here is like the rest) because St. *Augustin* desired a publick Conference with the *Donatist* Bishop of that place, (y) *all the Citizens being present*. I wonder our Author has not reduced all the World to a Congregation, since it is usual to say, that a thing is done *before all the World*, in the *face of the World*, and the like: and therefore, what need all our Independent Congregations, since these expressions may reduce the whole World to a single Conventicle? When our Author observes, that this was the *chief City in Mauritania*, and might have taken notice that it was (z) a renowned place from its first foundation by *Claudius*, and grew up to be one of the chiefest Cities in *Afric*, and had (a) at this time many Churches of the Catholick Communion: he should have a little mistrusted such a phrase as this, that implies no more, than that the Conference should be publick, and that all, who would, might be present at it.

(x) Prim. ep. p. 89. (y) Suis omnibus civibus præsentibus. Possid. vit. Aug. c. 14. i. e. frequentissima plebe præsentē. Aug. gest. cum Emer. init.

(z) Oppidumque ibi celeberrimum Cæsarea. Plin. l. 5. c. 2. (a) In Ecclesia majori congregat. Aug. Gest. cum Emer. init.

Tiberias, and *Diocæsarea*, and *Sepphoris*, which our Author mentions, because they had each but one Church, have been already considered. They consisted only of Jews, who would suffer no other Nation or Religion to mix with them.

(b) *At Diocæsarea in Cappadocia, which in Nazianzen is πρὸς μὲν, there was but one Church.* Ep. 49. But *Nazianzen* (c) says no such thing. He uses all the credit he had with *Olympius*, the Governor of that Province, to spare this City, which had extreemly offended him, and to that degree, that he was resolved to disfranchise and destroy it. And among other arguments, he makes use of his own liberality towards that City, having lately built a Church there; and therefore prayed that the Temple he had so lately erected there, might not become a receptacle of wild Beasts. But gives not the least intimation, that this was the only Church in that great City.

(c) *At Constantia, the Metropolis of Cyprus, and other Cities of that Island, there was no plurality of Churches.* For this he cites *Petavius*, whose inference has been already examined; and there is nothing new added here to require further reply.

At Neocæsaria, and other Cities in those parts, but one Church. This he proves from the

(b) Prim. ep. p. 86. (c) καὶ θρησκίαν ἀνεκλήριον
 γένοιτο ὅτε ναὸς ὃν ἐποίησεν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ἡ περὶ τῆς
 αὐτῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. Greg. Ep. 49.
 (c) Prim. ep. p. 90.

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thirteenth Canon of *Neocaesarea*, that forbids a *Chorepiscopus* to officiate in a City Church; from which *Petavius* would infer the Cities had but one Church. But there might be a hundred Churches there, for ought that expression may imply.

We are at last come to the end of this Chapter; in which our Author has taken all ways to diminish the Christians. He has been very bountiful to Schismatics and Hereticks, that the Bishop's Flock might not increase beyond his new model. But we must not wonder at his liberality towards these to the detriment of the Bishop. But rather than any City should have more Congregations than one of the same Communion, he gives the rest to the Devil. And to that purpose he is beyond measure bountiful towards Heathen and Jews; Heightens their number, as if he were of the faction; especially in *Julian's* time, having perhaps some secret respect for them, because they generally took the part of Schismatics and Hereticks, against the Catholick establish'd Church.

C H A P. V.

THE unjust Steward in the Gospel, being called to give up his accounts, and then to be discharged, provided for himself at the expence of his Lord; and cutting off considerably from the sum owing to his Master, procured himself a retreat among the debtors. Yet in this unrighteous contrivance he observed some measure, and reduced a hundred but to fourscore, and fourscore to fifty. But *Mr. Clerkson* in the account he makes of his Master's substance in ancient Cities, is much more profuse towards the debtors; and in some places, of a hundred does not leave ten. But in this he has chosen to follow the injustice rather than the wisdom of the Steward: for when his defalcations come to be so unlikely and extravagant, it is impossible the reckoning should pass. Had he insisted only on lesser Cities, that for three or four ages the Christians in them might not exceed one Assembly, the account might have passed without any suspicion, tho' the evidence even for this be defective. But when in the greatest Cities of the World he sets down but one Congregation to the account of Christ, and will not allow scarce five of a hundred to belong to our Lord, the misreckoning is too manifest, and does not carry so much as the appearance of truth.

The

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The increase of Christianity is represented by the Scripture of the New Testament, and by the Writers of the ages immediately succeeding, as wonderful and unexampled; and considering the supernatural abilities it pleased God to confer upon the first Preachers, it might be expected that their Doctrine should make a greater progress, than those that come recommended only by ordinary and human means of persuasion. Yet if we take Mr. *Clerkson's* reckoning of Christians for the three first ages, and compare it with the growth of Sects among our selves within this last age; we must conclude, that there is scarce a Sect within our remembrance, which has not proportionably to time and place, made much better progress than the Christian Religion ever did. Since in the greatest Cities there are few Sects but make several Assemblies for Worship; tho' the greatest Cities with us, are much inferior to the greatest in ancient times. And if the *Quakers*, a Sect scarce forty years standing in the World, are yet grown so numerous, that in *London* they have several places for meeting; it would seem to be a strange and incredible disparagement to the Christian Religion, not to have prevailed so much in *Rome* for the space of three hundred years, tho' *St. Paul* preached there for a considerable time, and there was a flourishing Church before he was brought thither. However our Author, to leave no exception against the Congregational Rule, (a) finds

(a) Prim. ep. p. 21. 92.

enough

enough to make it seem probable, that the greatest of those Cities had no more Christians under one Bishop, than are in some one of our Parishes. And to begin with Rome, about the year 236, (b) all the faithful in Rome did meet together in one place, to chuse a Bishop in the place of Anterus. Euseb. l. 6. c. 29.

I have already upon other occasions shewed the import of these expressions: *all the people, all the brethren, all the City, &c.* and how unreasonable it is to require exactness of testimony from phrases of amplification. If we must conclude, that *all the faithful in Rome*, without any allowance or exception, did meet in one place in the third Century to chuse a Bishop, and therefore there were no more than could Assemble in one place; It will follow from the very same phrase, that in the fourth, fifth, and sixth Centuries, and so forward, there was but one Congregation in Rome, after it was become Christian. For in the fourth age, *Felix* and all the Roman Clergy, (c) in the presence of the people of Rome, swore they would not chuse any other Bishop, while *Liberius* lived. In the next, (d) *all the people* are said to answer *Amen* to the Prayer which *Vigilius* their Bishop made. *Pelagius* is said, in *St. Peter's Church in Rome*, to have gone

(b) τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀπάντων χριστιανῶν ἕνεκεν — ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπικληρονομήσαν πάντα τὸν λαόν.

(c) Præsentē populo Romano. Marcel. & Faust. l. 16. Prec.

(d) Dataque oratione respondit omnis populus Amen. Lib. Pont. in Vigil.

up into the Pulpit, and satisfy'd (e) all the people, that he had done *Vigilius* his predecessor no harm. *Gregory* the Great is said to be chosen by (f) all the people; tho' at that time in *Rome* there were neither Heathen nor Sectaries to make any abatements in the Bishops flock. Nay, if our Author will insist rigidly upon this phrase, all *Israel* in the time of *Samuel* was no more than could meet in one place to hear *Samuel*, who is said (g) to speak to all *Israel*; and they answer him, that he had neither oppressed nor defrauded them. But our Author proceeds.

(h) *They were no more after Anno. 250, than could all together, in the Church, importune Cornelius for the readmission of the Ordainers of Novatian: The whole people interceding for him.* παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ. *Euseb.* l. 6. c. 43. Our Author, according to his usual ingenuity, has left out a word, that spoiled his argument, and limited this expression. For *Cornelius* does not say, that all the Christian people of *Rome* importuned him; (i) but that all the people, that was present with him, did interceed. *They were no more than could concur in an Epistle to salute their Brethren at Carthage, Salutant vos fratres, & tota Ecclesia, Cypr. ep. 3.* As tho' the general salutation of a Church could not be sent, without the actual

(e) Satisfecit cuncto populo & plebi, quia nullum malum fecisset contra Vigiliū. Lib. Pont. in Pelag.

(f) Gregonius Diaconum plebs omnis elegit. *Greg. Turon.* l. x. c. 1. *Joh. Diacon.* l. 1. c. 39. 40.

(g) 1 Sam. 12. 1. 4. (h) *Prim. ep.* p. 92.

(i) παντὸς τοῦ παρόντος λαοῦ.

concurrence of every member. How many publick acts bear the name of the people, tho' the twentieth part was not present when they were made? Or shall we fancy that all the Citizens of Rome met in one Assembly, to pass every order that bears the title of *Senatus Populiſque Romanus*? (l) They were no more than Cornelius could read Cyprians Letters to, in their numerous Assembly, amplissimæ plebi. They were no more than could all be present about consultations about matters of concernment, &c. Consultis omnibus & ipsis stantibus laicis. Cypr. ep. 26. A Bishop may communicate Letters and Proposals concerning Ecclesiastical Discipline in a full Congregation, and to all the people then present; and yet this cannot imply that there are no more Christians, or no other Congregation in that City. Whatsoever is done in publick, and before a Congregation that is unlimited, is in the common way of speaking, said to be done before all the Community.

I meet with nothing, says our Author, (m) *that makes any shew of a probability, that their numbers were more at that time, but Cornelius his Catalogue of Officers,—and the number of the poor, which were fifteen hundred.* Euseb. l. 6. c. 37. This passage has not hitherto received any answer, that made so much as a shew of probability: And that which our Author replieth to the number of Officers, hath been long since (n) shewed

(l) Prim. ep. p. 93.

(m) Prim. ep. p. 93.

(n) Vindic. prim. ch. p. 51.

to be frivolous. *As to the number of Officers, the shew will vanish, Mr. Clerkson fancies, if it be considered, that it was the custom of those ancient times to multiply Officers beyond what was necessary; yea, so much, that, as Nazianzen (o) tells us, the Officers were sometimes as many as they had the charge of. It might be excusable in Mr. Baxter to confound times of persecution with times of settlement, and the middle of the third Century with the latter end of the fourth, for he was too hasty to be curious, and looked not the date of the Fable; so it happened upon a time, or shortly after, he was contented. But from Mr. Clerkson something might be expected more exact: what! will this shew of probability vanish; and no likelihood that there were more Congregations in Rome than one, remain from six and forty Presbyters in Cornelius his time, because it was the custom of Nazianzen's times to multiply Officers beyond what was necessary? Forty six Presbyters were never accounted necessary to one Congregation, even in the most prosperous times of the Church; nor can any instance be given of so many relating to one Assembly in any age accounted ancient, tho' it might be fashionable then to multiply Church Officers. But for this we are at a greater certainty, for Cornelius (p) assures us, that this number was not for state, nor*

(o) ἐστὶν ὅθεν πῶς πολλοὶ ἢ ὁποῖον ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἀποστόλοι
 Greg. Naz. Or. 1.

(p) Euseb. H. E. l. 6. c. 43.

for form, without use and necessity; but *exceeding necessary*, and that upon the account of an *infinite and numberless* people. And if the multitude of Christians in *Rome* was then so great as to require forty six Presbyters; we may make some guess at the proportion they might have to the people of *Rome*, after it had been entirely converted, in the fifth and sixth Centuries; for in those times the Presbyters of *Rome* were scarce a third part more than those in the Catalogue of *Cornelius*, as we may gather from the subscriptions of the Presbyters in the Roman (q) Council. Nay, in one Synod, (r) under *Gregory* the Great, there are but thirty four Presbyters that subscribe. I do not intend to say, that two thirds of that City was then Christian; but the Christians of that place under *Cornelius* seem to be at least two thirds, in respect of all *Rome* in after ages, when it was much diminished from its ancient greatness, and when it seems to have no more than seventy Parish Presbyters. This number therefore of forty six Presbyters, all necessary for so great a people as the Christians of *Rome* then were, makes it evident, notwithstanding the frivolous exception of our Author, that the believers of that City could not all assemble together upon any religious occasion, and that

(q) Synod. Rom. 1. sub. Symmach. Subf. Pref. 67.

(r) Cum Episc. omnibus & Rom. Eccl. Presbyteris. Greg. Reg. l. 4. ep. 44.

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the Church there must consequently be distributed to several Parishes and Congregations.

(s) *As to the other, how to compute the numbers of the Roman Church by the number of the poor, I know no better way than to observe what proportion there was betwixt these in other places.* But the ground of this exception is a mistake : For *Cornelius* does not say, that the number of all the poor Christians in *Rome* was but fifteen hundred ; but that so many were maintained by the publick stock of the Church , besides the necessary Officers. Now there might be many more poor maintained, some by Relations, others by private Charities ; and it is plain from the account that *Chrysostom* gives of the poor of *Antioch*, and the number in the Church-Book, that those that were maintained by the Church, were but a small part in comparison of the whole number of the poor. For exhorting the rich men to contribute towards the maintenance of the poor, he observes how easy it would be to provide for them. *For the Church*, says he (t) maintains many Widows, and Virgins, and Prisoners, and Sick, and Clergy : the number of those upon the roll maintained by the publick stock of the Church, is about three thousand. Now the income of the Church is scarce equal to one of the lowest of those accounted rich. If therefore but ten

(s) Prim. ep. p. 94.
Matth. p. 421. 422.

(t) Chryf Hom. 66. in

such rich men would dispose of their Estates, as the Church does, there would not be a poor man in all *Antioch* unprovided: Nay, if all the rich men would but give a tenth part to Charity, it would answer all occasions. So that upon the computation of *Chrysoftom*, the Church did not relieve above a tenth part of the poor. And yet this must be more in proportion than the Roman Church can be supposed able to do in *Cornelius* his time, when it had no other revenue than the oblations of the Faithful; whereas in *Chrysoftom*'s time, besides these, it was endowed with great possessions, and was maintained from the rents or product of her Estate; the Capital remaining undiminished, as he observes in the same place.

Our Author having laid this false foundation, proceeds to build upon it in this manner, That at *Constantinople*, *Chrysoftom* computes the poor to have been half as many as all the other Christians there. At *Antioch* the same Father supposes the poor a tenth part. The first is unreasonable, and without example in any City: the latter multiplies the poor that stand in need of relief, I think, beyond what we can find in any rich City, such as *Antioch* was; yet upon this foot let us reckon. The fifteen hundred Roman poor we will suppose, according to *Chrysoftom*, to be the tenth part of the poor Christians of the place. The sum will be fifteen thousand. These multiplied by ten, will make an hundred and fifty thousand. And this may be supposed about a seventh part of the inhabitants in *Rome* of all ages and conditions.

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tions. And considering the great ostentation, which *Tertullian* makes of the numbers of the Christians in the beginning of this age, and the great increase they received in the time intervening between *Tertullian* and *Cornelius*, under *Alexander Severus*, and *Philip*; I cannot but think I set their proportion too low, when I reckon them but a seventh part. I cannot pass by one passage in the same Homily of *Chrysostom*, that I cannot reconcile with his supposition, that makes the poor of *Antioch* the tenth part of the City. When he had divided the people into ten parts, he makes one to consist of rich Men, another of very poor Men, the other eight to consist of such as had competence of estate, and were neither very rich nor very poor. Yet having made this distribution, he says, that if the poor were divided between those who were rich, and those who were not poor, there would not one poor Man fall to the share of fifty or a hundred: whereas according to his distribution, there will be a poor Man left between nine. I cannot think *Chrysostom* so little skilled in Arithmetick, as to commit a mistake in so obvious a reckoning. I had rather suspect the reading in this place of the *tenth part*, which with small variation, may be reconciled with the following computations. But having not the countenance of any Critick, nor the authority of any Copy, I am content to leave it as I find it. However as it stands, it does but small service for the diminishing of Christians in ancient times.

Alexandria follows, dressed up in a magnificent character, (u) *the greatest after Rome, the Mart of the World, and the top of Cities.* But presume not ye Christians to take too much upon you; for these glorious things belong to Jews and Heathens, and it is but a small skirt of this Macedonian cloak that comes to your share. Nay, since you are found so inconsiderable in so great a place, this very instance will preclude all your pretensions to number and greatness in all other Cities. Here our Author undertakes to shew, that the Christians were not more than could meet in one place, and thinks fit to skirmish at first with arguments so slight, that he himself does not think fit to insist on them. In the latter end of the third age, Dionysius calls the Church *συναγωγὴ*, and a scrupulous member of it, *τὸς τῶν συναγωγῶν*. I cannot but commend his discretion, for not insisting upon such things as these; tho', I think, the alledging of them argues more of diligence than judgment. For tho' this critical observation should be allowed, that the Church of *Alexandria* is sometimes called a Synagogue; the consequence that our Author makes, that therefore there was but one Assembly of Christians in that City, is invisible. But the misfortune is, that *Dionysius* says no such thing. For he calls not the whole Church of *Alexandria* by that name: But relating the case of a person who was troubled in con-

(u) *Prima. ep. p. 96.*

science concerning his Baptism, says, (x) he did partake of the Communion of the Faithful, and assembled with them. But whether there was then but one Church or Congregation in *Alexandria*, or several, cannot be deduced from that expression; and all it imports in that place, is only that the person was in full and entire Communion: and so the same Author uses the word in his Epistle (y) to *Philemon* a Roman Presbyter, when he speaks of Hereticks, who did outwardly communicate with the Church. The other passage, which our Author will not insist upon, seems to surpass the former in impertinence. *The place of their pænegyric assembly (which was their greatest of all) was in his time a place of no great reception, not only a field and a desert, but a ship, an inn, or a prison.* Wonderful! that a field and a desert should not be places of great reception; and that the Christians must be accounted few, because they chose such places for their assembly, where not only the Church of one City might assemble, but Nations might inhabit. But to let this pass, and to consider the pertinence of this allegation. *Dionysius* speaking of the calamitous estate of the Christians of *Alexandria*, scattered by persecution from the Heathen, and at the same time visited with a

(x) πρὸ τῆς τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καταστάσεως, συναγωγῆς με-
τανοῶν. Euseb. l. 7. c. 9.

(y) ἀλλ' ἐδὲ ἀποσταίντας ἀλλ' αὖ συναγωγῆς ὑφ' ἑκαστοῦ.
Euseb. l. 7. c. 7.

pestilence, and comforting his brethren from the consideration of the approaching festival of Easter; To others, says he, (2) *this may scarce seem a Festival; and to the Heathen, neither this nor any other can be accounted such, tho' it might have a greater appearance of happiness. For now grief and lamentation fill every place, and there is not a house, in which there is not one dead; and I would to God there were but one dead in a house. However, we Christians cast out and persecuted, and put to death, even then kept the Feast. For the place of every ones affliction, was to him a place of solemn assembly; the open field, the wilderness, the ship, the inn, the prison, where each happened then to be in this time of dispersion, was to him a Church.*

If I had a mind to trifle, I might urge this for proof, that the Christians of *Alexandria* had several panegyric assemblies, if it may be said without solecism, at the same time, and in the several places mentioned by *Dionysius*. But I have neither inclination nor forehead to follow our Author in this way of discourse; nor is it in every ones power to recommend for *fair probabilities*, what he cannot but know to be nothing to the purpose.

(a) *But Athanasius in his Apology to Constantius about Anno. 355, makes it evident, beyond all contradiction, he being accused for assembling*

(1) Euseb. H. E. l. 7. c. 22.

(2) Prim. ep. p. 27.

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the people in the great Church before it was dedicated, makes this part of his defence, That the confluence of the *Pascal Solemnity* was so great, that if they had met in several assemblies, the other Churches were so little and streight, that they would have been in danger of suffering by the crowd. — And it was better for the whole multitude to meet in that great Church, being a place large enough to receive them all together. This passage hath been often urged and answered by several hands; so that I might spare my self the labour of any farther reply, than referring to those books in which it has been examined; especially since our Author has thought fit to add nothing new, but words of assurance and ostentation, that it is evident beyond contradiction, and to take notice of nothing that hath been offered to impeach this irrefragable evidence. However, to avoid cavil, I am content here again to take it into examination. And first, tho' it should be yeilded to our Author, that it is certain from this passage, that all the Christians in *Alexandria* were present in this assembly; yet will it not be of that service to his notion, as he might imagin. Suppose then the flock of *Athanasius* reduced so low, that one great Church might receive it all. If this should proceed from some late accident, and be owing to such separations as had been lately made from the Communion of the Church; it can be of no use, either for the proving of Congregational Episcopacy in elder times, or for the discovering of the proportion of Christians in other Cities. Suppose the Dissenters should prevail so far in some one Diocese with

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us, as to leave the Bishop no more people than might be crowded into one of the greatest Cathedrals of the Kingdom ; it would surely be but a sorry argument, that the constitution of our Episcopacy is Congregational, or that we have no Diocese greater than may assemble in one Church. This, according to Mr. Clerkson, (b) was the case of *Alexandria* in *Athanasius* his time. *At the first breach Meletius had many more adherents than Peter ; and from that time to Athanasius, the Meletians had such encouragements, that their numbers were not like to be impaired. And as for the Arrians, if we may take the measure of the people by their Officers, they were more numerous than the Catholicks in this City ; for (c) of nine, (it should be nineteen) Presbyters and Deacons which the Church of Alexandria had, eleven embraced Arrianism.* There are many mistakes in what is here advanced concerning the *Meletians* and the party of *Arrius* ; but the course of the argument must not be interrupted. *In these circumstances the Arrians might well out-vie the followers of Athanasius in numbers, and these declined as the others increased.* Now if the party of *Athanasius*, which in Mr. Clerkson's judgment was inferior in number to the *Arrians*, was yet so great, as to fill all the Churches in *Alexandria*, and could not have met in any one Church before that vast fabrick was erected by *Constantius* ; the *Arrians*, surely, who

(b) No Evidence for Diocess. Episc. p. 47.

(c) Theod. H. E. l. 4. c. 22. Soz. l. 1. c. 15.

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are supposed to be the greater party, must divide into many Congregations, and live in the Diocesan way, especially in the time of *Gregory*, who seems to have joyned the *Arrian* and *Meletian* party; for by *Epiphanius* (*d*) he is stiled both *Arrian* and *Meletian*. For tho' that Sect divided from the Church upon a point of Doctrine, yet did they not pretend to make any alteration in Discipline, and had but one Bishop in a City, how great soever it might be. So that our Author, while he lessens the Catholicks of *Alexandria*, does unawares make the *Arrians* not a Congregation, but a Diocese. Nor is it any advantage to the Congregational fancy, to streighten the Catholick Christians within the walls of one Church, while his indulgence to other Christian Sects permits them to increase beyond his Rule, and to grow up into a Diocesan stature.

Having considered the consequence of this passage of *Athanasius* upon a kind supposition, that it proved the thing for which it was produced; I proceed to shew, that this Testimony does not certainly evince, that the Christians of *Athanasius* his Communion were no more than could meet, or actually assembled in that great Church. Mr. *Baxter* (*e*) is not so rigid in his inference from this Testimony, as to contend, that every Christian of *Alexandria* was present in that assembly. *I do not hence*

(*d*) ἀρξαμένη Γρηγορίου Ἀρειανῆς καὶ Μελητιανῶν. *Epiph.*
Har. 69. n. 2. (*e*) *Ch. Hist.* p. 10.

gather, says he, *that every man woman and child was present*. And to him this only seemeth hence plain—that the *main body* of them could meet and hear in one assembly. But all things are not equally plain to all people. For if all the other Churches in *Alexandria* could not receive this Congregation, I am afraid they could not all hear, unless it were the *Amen*, which they all pronounced aloud; and that indeed might be heard from far. For in *Alexandria*, besides this great Church, *Epiphanius* (f) names nine more; and adds, that there are other Churches besides, which he had probably named with the rest, if they had been but few. Nor can they well be conceived much fewer than twenty; for in *Rome* (g) there were above forty in the beginning of *Constantine's* reign. Suppose then a Congregation, that twelve Churches could not contain, which though much inferiour to this new Cathedral, yet had some of them served the Bishop of the greatest City in the world after *Rome* and his Congregation: It will be scarce possible, to conceive how all that multitude should hear; especially since I do not find, that in those days any Church had scaffolds, or galleries; but all the people stood in the *Arca*, and nothing raised above the floor, but the Bishop and Presbyters seats, and such places from whence any of the Church Officers spoke or read to the people. It is not therefore so plain

(f) Epiph. Hær. 69. n. 2. ἐπὶ τῶν πλείων τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐν Ἀλεξανδρίᾳ ἡ ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἡ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ οἱ ἐπίσκοποι καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ὅλη ἡ κοινὴ ἀκούει.

(g) Optat. l. 2.

as it seemed to Mr. *Baxter*, that all could hear in such an assembly as this.

Now where a multitude is so numerous, that the greater part cannot be partakers of the service for which they are assembled, it seems to be no longer one Congregation, since it cannot attain that purpose which brings them together. And therefore is a Congregation for shew and solemnity, and not for edification and religious service. Nor can any bounds be assigned to such an Assembly; for a Nation may be brought together in that manner. And therefore when a multitude, though crowded together in one place, becomes incapable of attaining the end of Religious Assemblies, it has out-grown the Congregational standard, as much as if it were dispersed in forty distant places. At a Coronation, all the people in Westminster Abby may be thought but one Congregation; yet the greatest part hear no more of what is said, than those who are ten miles off. They may joyn in one common acclamation, as that *Alexandrian* Assembly did in an *Amen*; so they might though they were twenty times as many. So that such a notion of a Congregation runs on to infinite. And that of which we are speaking, being in all probability of this sort, it exceeded the bounds of the pretended Primitive Episcopacy, and is of no use in the present question.

However the whole multitude met in the great Church, which was large enough to receive them all. But what multitude? all the Christians of the City? No, Mr. *Baxter* will not say that. Or all that were willing, or had opportunity to attend

attend the publick devotions of the day? *Athanasius* says not that neither; but that there was so great confluence, that the Parish-Churches could not hold them. But there was no other Congregation of *Athanasius* his Communion in *Alexandria* on that Easter-day, beside this great one; for the universal Harmony and Concurrence of the people had not been so visible, if (b) they had met in parcels; and therefore there were no such meetings. Still the question recurs, what people? all the *Alexandrians* of his Communion? Nothing he says can be extended so far, or made to comprehend any more than the multitude assembled at that time, with intention to be present with the Bishop. This is *all the people*, and *all the multitude*, that he mentions in this part of his defence. But these were all his flock; for *universal Harmony of all the people was visible*. This may be said of any general Congregation assembled from all parts, though all individuals, nor perhaps half of them do not appear. For *Leo* the Great about the middle of the fifth Century, speaks to his Congregation in the same manner, though in all probability not the twentieth part of the Christians of *Rome* were present. In you, says he, (i) I can plainly see the piety of Christian unity,

(b) κατὰ μέρος; ἢ ἀσυνείκως.

(i) In vobis pietatem Christianæ unitatis agnosco, sicut enim ipsa frequentia testatur. Intelligitis enim honorem totius gregis celebrari per annua festa Pastoris. *Leo*. Sermon. Anniv. 3.

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as your confluence does declare ; and you understand that the honour of the whole flock is celebrated in the Anniversaries of the Pastor.

Now to make up this image of Christian unity, it was not necessary all the people of the City should flow to the Bishops Church ; but only that the Congregation should be very great, though not so as to exclude all others. Notwithstanding this expression, there might be several other Assemblies in that City at the same time. Nor was it otherwise at *Alexandria*, as we may judge by a passage in the Bishops Defence. He was accused for having dedicated a Church, which the Emperour had built, without his order ; because the holding of the Pascal Assembly there was a sort of Dedication. But the Bishop protests (1) to the Emperour, that he was so far from any such design, that this very Assembly was altogether accidental ; for he had given the people no notice nor summons to meet there. Now the Parish Presbyters of *Alexandria* cannot well be supposed to leave their Churches unsupplied, upon a presumption that all the people would assemble with the Bishop ; and they could not but know, that his Church could not hold a tenth part of them ; for all the Churches in the City could not receive them all, and this new Church, not yet finished or dedicated, they could not think of. Therefore in all probabi-

(1) ἐπεὶ ἐκ παροικουῦς ἐς τὸ πρῆλθον ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ ἐκ παρηγορίας γάρων ἢ συναγίς. Apol. ad Conf. p. 682.

lity they assembled their Parishes then, as they did on other times; unless we may fancy, that on Easter they always attended the Bishop; and so for all the Easters before this, left much the greatest part of the people without any service on that solemn time. For but few of them could crowd into the Bishops Church, before that great one was built; and the number of the Catholick Christians had been greater, than were at this time of which we are speaking. To conclude, all the *Alexandrians* of the Catholick Communion were not present with their Bishop in the new Church. Those that came, made a very great multitude, and such as the other Churches could not hold, considering they had each a Congregation already. These could not be dispersed in the other Churches without danger. These were proper to represent Catholick unity; and in short, were a Congregation suitable to the time, though it might not comprehend all the Christians of that great City.

Our Author goes on to prove the Church of *Alexandria* no more than could meet in one Congregation. (*m*) *Alexander*, the Predecessor of *Athanasius*, assembled the whole multitude in the Church called *Theonas*, the other Churches being all strait and little. But still this multitude is not said to be the whole of the *Alexandrine* Church, but only of the Bishops Congregation.

(*m*) Prim. ep. p. 98.

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There is yet *another kind of proof, which he thinks, might be as satisfactory to some; and refers to Mr. Baxter's Ch. History, p. 9, 10. Here I must own my self of his opinion, for both are equally satisfactory; and this to which he refers has been (n) sufficiently answered.*

He thinks the Premises so evident, that there is no need of Dionysius's observation; that Alexandria in his time was not by much so populous as of old, the old men being more in number formerly, than both old and young in his days. If there was no need of this observation, he is the more inexcusable, for attempting to put upon his Reader without any necessity. If any one should undertake to prove, that London is not so populous now as it was a hundred years ago, because a great Mortality happened there about five and twenty years since, and at the end of that pestilence all sorts of Inhabitants might not then equal even the old men a few years before; such a poor juggle would not pass upon Children. But in facts more remote, there is a sort of men that take liberty, and depend upon the ignorance of their Readers. And this observation is an instance of that practice. For in Dionysius the Bishop of Alexandria's time, there happened first a fatal sedition in that City, and an infinite number of people was slain; the carcases of these corrupted the air and the water, and begot a Pestilence mortal beyond all example; and this reduced the City

(*) Vindic. Prim. Ch. p. 53.

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(n) Vindic. Prim. Ch. p. 52.

so low, as that Bishop then represents it. But it soon recovered from that calamity, as great Cities commonly do, and maintained its rank for some time, as the second City of the Empire.

In *Antioch*, he observes, (o) *the Christians in the first age were no more than could all meet together in the House of Theophilus, as appears by the Author of the Recognitions, which though falsely ascribed to Clemens, is ancient; nor will it be easie to find a reason why the following passage should be forged.* Theophilus—domus suæ ingentem Basilicam Ecclesiæ nomine consecravit, in qua omnis multitudo ad audiendum verbum conveniens, &c. l. 10. To some sort of people no evidence comes amiss; Fable and Forgery grow Authentick, if they seem favourable to their cause. The *Recognitions* are on all hands given up for an idle forgery, feigned without any aim or tolerable guess of the condition of the Apostolick times. I have some reasons to suspect, that this Book is not so old as it is generally imagined; and it carries several marks of the fourth Century, of which it is not necessary to take notice in this place. But it is not easie to find a reason, why this passage should be forged; nor indeed why he has forged all the rest of his Book; nor is it necessary. For many will lie out of gaiety of humour and to please their fancy, without any other reason to move them. But he that has not reason enough to discern this

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to be a Fable, has certainly very little to spare.

(r) *When Paulus Samofatenus was Bishop of this City, our Author observes, there was but one house, (s) where the Church did meet, of which he would not give up the possession. And this he contends was not the Bishops house, but the house where the Church did meet, and is presently after called (t) the Church. The Tranllator that he blames for calling it the Bishops house, must be Christophorson, or Musculus; for Ruffinus and Valesius render it the House of the Church. Now whether it were the Church, or the House of the Bishop, is not very clear, nor very material. For to be sure the Church had a House where the Bishop assembled; and they might have twenty Parish-Churches more, for ought appears from this place. But that which our Author infers, that one House was then sufficient, otherwise they might have had more, proceeds from his usual acuteness. The Church needed but one common House for the Bishops Assembly, to which they all belonged; but they might have many Houses appropriated to Parishes, and certain regions of the Town; which could not be called the Houses of the Church in general, but only of such a part.*

(r) Prim. ep. p. 100.

(s) τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκη.

(t) ἐξελωμένη τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Euseb. l. 7. c. 30.

(u) *In the fourth Age all the Christians there could meet together for the choice of Eustathius, ἀπὸς ὁ λαός, says Theodoret, l. 1. c. 7. This has been answered so often already, that I am ashamed to repeat so obvious and plain an answer any more. What proportion of Antioch was Christian in Eustathius his time, may be guessed from the influence his deposition had upon that City, which according to Mr. Clerkson, was but four years after his being Bishop of that place. The sedition, says Sozomen, (x) was so great, that the whole City was in danger of being destroyed, the Christians upon this occasion being divided into two parts. If an Independent Congregation in London should happen to have such a difference about their Pastour; it would scarce move a sedition in the City, or endanger the safety of it in so high a manner. After this our Author represents the low condition of the Orthodox Christians in Antioch, while the Arrians were masters (y) of the Churches, that they made but a mean Congregation. Yet all the while the Arrian Bishops there were Diocesan, and had many Churches in that City, which had belonged once to the Catholick Christians, and did still of right appertain to them, and before the end of that Century were actually recovered to the true faith and their old rightful Possessours.*

(u) Prim. ep. p. 100.

(x) Soz. l. 2. c. 19.

(y) Ἐκ τῶν τῶν ἀπὸ ἐκείνων ἐκείνων. Socr. l. 3. c. 9.

(x) Cat-

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(2) Carthage next to the Cities foremention-
ed, was one of the greatest of the Empire.—Yet there
were no more Christians in that Church about Anno.
220, than could meet together in one place for
Church-administration. For this he tells us there
is evidence enough in Tertullian; which at present
I will not further take notice of, than in the obser-
vation of a great Antiquary, the Bishop of Orleans.
Our Author speaks of Tertullian in this place,
like one who had not looked in him; for
he has not one word of the Church of Car-
thage in that place, on which *Albaspineus* makes
his observation, and what is worse, that Bi-
shop has not a word about Carthage. All this
is nothing but a vision that happened to our
Author in the dark, when he talked of Books
without consulting them. *Tertullian* (a) dis-
puting warmly against Christian Women mar-
rying of Heathen Men, proposes many great
difficulties, to which such Women will be ex-
posed, and what hindrance such a Marriage
must needs be to all Christian Offices. If the
Wife purpose to perform the *Station*, the Hus-
band appoints a Bath: If she ought to observe
a Fast, her Husband appoints an entertain-
ment: *si procedendum est*; if she be to go abroad
upon charitable and Christian visits to the
poor and sick, the business of her family is then
extraordinary urgent. It happened that some
Papists laid hold on that word, and fancied

(2) Prim. ep. p. 103.

(a) Tertul. ad Uxor. l. 2. c. 4.

they had found their Proceſſion in *Tertullian*; which *Albaſpinus* makes bold to expoſe, ſhewing that in thoſe days there was but one Church in a place, and that generally a ſmall one, and without ornament. Which I am very willing to grant, for generally ſpeaking ſo it was, and moſt Towns had but one Church. But for *Carthage*, and Cities of that magnitude, they might differ from the generality in this, as they did in dimension and multitude of people. That *Carthage* had many Chriſtian aſſemblies in *Tertullian's* time, we need no other proof than the account he gives *Scapula* of the number of Chriſtians in that City. (b) If they ſhould offer themſelves to Martyrdom, what couldſt thou do with ſo many thouſands of people, when Men and Women, every ſex, every age and condition ſhould offer themſelves? What fires, what ſwords would be ſufficient to deſtroy them? How much muſt *Carthage* ſuffer, which then would be decimated by thee? Every one would ſuffer in his Relation or his Friend; and there might appear among the ſufferers perſons of thy own rank, and of the higheſt quality. If thou wilt not ſpare us, ſpare thy ſelf; if thou wilt not ſpare thy ſelf, ſpare *Carthage*. All this muſt appear very abſurd, and provoke the deriſion of the Heathen; if this multitude ſo populoſly ſet out, might be ſummed up in one aſſembly, and that no great one: Since the Chriſtians had not the convenience of great and capacious Churches at that time, and might not

pomprouſly

(b) *Tertull. ad Scapulam.*

be very willing to raise extraordinary Fabricks, lest they should expose themselves too much to the observation and envy of their enemies. He who is not yet perswaded that there was no more than one Congregation of Christians in *Carthage*, when *Tertullian* wrote this, let him, if he thinks fit, make himself the Advocate of some Sect in *London* that makes but one Congregation, and plead their cause in this Harangue, and then see how well it will fit them.

Now if the Christians in *Carthage* were so numerous in the beginning of the third Century, that it is incredible they could meet in one Church, and such a Church as the condition of those times could bear; the forty years that follow must exceedingly increase their numbers, since they were the most favourable that the Church met with in the three first ages. And in *Afric* especially, where Mr. *Dodwell* (c) finds no Persecution from the tenth year of *Severus*, Anno 202, to the first of *Decius*, Anno 250. And in general, *Origen* observes the increase of Christians within this time to be extraordinary, and much greater than it had been in former times; (c) because they were not then oppressed by the Emperours, as they had been formerly; (d) and the rigours of the Heathen against them had for

(c) Dissert. Cypr. xi. ff. 48. 52. (c) ὁμοίω. τοῖς
πάλαι χρονοῖς. Orig. Cont. Cels. p. l. 3. p. 120.

(d) ὅτι τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως θεῶν παύσεται καὶ χροὶ πολλῇ.

a long time ceased. This *long peace*, tho' it corrupted the manners of the Christians, yet it added much to their numbers; as *Cyprian* (e) observes, who speaking of the Christians of *Carthage* before *Decius* his Persecution, extols their numbers, while he bewails the ruin of those who yielded to the enemy. Yet (f) *In Cyprians time, in all Church administrations and transactions of moment in the Church and Bishoprick of Carthage, all the people were to be present: Tota fraternitas, plebs Univerſa, ſtantes Laici; as he declares every where in his Epistles: And how all could be present, if they were more than could meet together, is not intelligible. Alas! how difficult is it for some men to understand the plainest things in the World, when they have no mind to it. It is an incomprehensible figure of speech it seems, to say, that what is transacted in an Assize, is done before the whole County: and yet there is scarce any Hall so large as to hold the people of one Hundred, much less a whole County; and still people will talk after this unintelligible rate. But of this Topick we have said more than enough. To the same effect is that of *Optatus*, concerning the Election of *Cacilian*, *suffragio totius populi*. And the deductions he makes upon the account of the *Donatists* in *Carthage*, so as to leave the Catholick Christians but one Congregation, are by much too liberal to the Schismatics. For it*

(e) *Disciplinam longa pax corruperat.—populi aliquando numerosi lamentanda pectura.* Cyp. de laps. p. 123.

(f) *Prim. ep. p. 104.*

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is known to every body that has but looked into *St. Austin*, that those of the Catholick Communion in that City had many and great Churches for their assemblies in the fourth Century.

To the four greatest Cities of the Empire, our Author (g) thinks fit to add *Jerusalem*, altho' far inferiour in greatness, — because of the many thousands converted there by the Apostles. — But I have shewed, that of those five thousand Converted, the twentieth part cannot in reason be accounted inhabitants of the City. What he has said of this matter, hath been examined at large. In *Jerusalem* many accessions of Converts are mentioned in the beginning of the *Acts*, which he does account for; and all this in a few years, before the calling of the Gentiles, and the Conversion of *St. Paul*. Nor did the progress of Christianity in *Jerusalem* stop where *St. Luke* breaks off his relation of the numerous Conversions: but before the destruction of that City and the Jewish Nation, we are told by *Hegesippus*, (h) that the Scribes made an uproar, and cried, that the whole City was in danger of becoming Christian. Their apprehensions had been very childish, if the Christians had not yet increased beyond one Congregation, when the Rabbins will have near five hundred Synagogues to have been in *Jerusalem* at that time. About forty years after, this Church consisted of no

(g) Prim. ep. p. 106.

(h) Apud Euseb. l. 2. c. 23.

more than Pella, a small City, could entertain, together with its own inhabitants. What might happen to this Church a few years before the destruction of Jerusalem, is altogether unknown: But that not long before it was very flourishing, we learn from the *Acts* and *Hegeſippus*. If Persecutions or Apostacies had diminished it a little before that fatal Revolution, we are not to take the measures of it from such a calamitous state. Nay, this story of the transmigration to Pella comes from no certain Authority. And *Valesius* (i) hints his mistrust of it, when he observes that *Eusebius* quotes no Author, and probably took all this matter from Tradition, which is no very certain way of conveying any thing to posterity. Nor is it unlikely (l) that this story should come from the *Nazarens*, who dwelt about Pella and in the Region of *Decapolis*; who to give themselves greater credit, might pretend to be the remainder of the Apostolick Church of Jerusalem. (m) Not long after, they settled in the ruins of a part of that desolate City; no fit place to entertain multitudes, where they had a few houses and a little Church; and therefore one would judge they could not be very many. The story of these houses and Church, and several Synagogues in Mount-Sion, that escaped in the first desolation, are all Jewish Fables, and in-

(i) Annot. in Euseb. l. 3. c. 5. (l) Epiph. Hær. Nazar. n. 7. Id. de Pond. & Mens. n. 15. Joseph. Scalig. Anim. in Euseb. p. 212. (m) Prim. ep. p. 107.

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consistent with our Saviours Propheſie of that City, that one ſtone ſhould not be left upon another, as *Scaliger* (*n*) has obſerved: and any one may ſee it, who will but read the ſtory in *Epiphanius*, who to make this little Church yet more venerable, places it in that ſpot of ground where the houſe ſtood, in which the Apoſtles were aſſembled after the Aſcenſion of our Lord.

Our Author, to be revenged of this Church of *Jeruſalem* for growing ſo faſt at the beginning, and giving trouble to his Brethren of the Congregational way by thoſe many thouſand Converts which they could not conveniently beſtow in one aſſembly, reſolves at laſt, if not to extinguiſh it, yet to reduce it to the next degree to utter diſſolution, by the Ediſt of *Adrian*, (*o*) which excluded all Jews, not only from *Jeruſalem*, but all the territory round about it. So that if the Church then at *Jeruſalem* were either wholly, or for the greateſt part conſtituted of Jews, it was either quite diſſipated or greatly diminiſhed. And be it which he pleaſes, ſo it be not taken for a judgment upon it for tranſgreſſing the bounds of the Congregational way, and undoing a notion of Primitive *Episcopacy*: It was certainly a great fault in the firſt Church in the World, and at the very beginning to become Unprimitive.

(*n*) Animadv. in Euseb. Chron.

(*o*) Prim. ep. p. 108.

To shew compassion, he is willing (p) to take the more favourable sense, by which it is not quite dissolved, but reduced to a very small compass, and very few members, those only of the believing Gentiles,—which were so few, that they are not thought fit to be brought to account, by him who gives the best account of the state of the Church in those days. Now, to what purpose is all this learned Discourse? The Church of Jerusalem was either quite dissolved, or much diminished by that Edict that forbid the Jews to come into that City. What then? Is this then an instance to judge other Churches by, when the case is singular, and common to it with no other Church? What if he had thought fit to take the other opinion, that it was quite dissipated, must we have concluded that there had been no Christian Congregation in the World? Yet in conclusion, there is nothing produced to shew, whether it had many, or but one Assembly. And in truth, there is no mention made of it for some time: which might not happen from the small number of Christians, but the loss of Records. For many Cities greater than Jerusalem, of which there is little doubt to be made, that they had Churches very early, are in the same Case. How many Bishops of Carthage do we know before Cyprian? Nor is there any account given of that Church after his death, until the Ordination of Ce-

(p) Prim. ep. p. 109.

citian. It is not surely because the Christians there were so few, as not to be thought fit to be brought into account.

(q) It is like their numbers increased before Narcissus was Bishop there in the third age: Yet then they were not so many, but that the whole multitude could meet with their Bishop at the *Pascal Vigil*. Altho' this expression, *the whole multitude*, do not import so universally as our Author would have it: Yet here it is not used by *Eusebius* with any respect to the City, but to the Congregation assembled with *Narcissus*. For in a *Pascal Vigil*, as the traditional story went, the Oyl happened to fail; whereupon the whole multitude was troubled, i. e. the multitude present. Whether it was great or little, whether it consisted of all, or not a fortieth part of the Christians of that City, cannot be guessed from this passage.

(r) Nay, in *Cyrill's time*, which was in the fourth age, Anno 353, it seems they were no more than could assemble in one place. For the people, as *Sozomen* relates it, astonished at an *Apavition* in the air, all leave their houses,—and Men Women and Children meet in the Church. Hist. l. 3. c. 4. It should be l. 4. c. 5. *Sozomen* speaks there, not of the Christians only, but of all the people of the City; for *astomishment* and fear seized upon all. And if our Author would deal rigidly with him, he must

(q) Prim. ep. p. 109. 110. τὸ πᾶν πλῆθος, Euseb. l. 6. c. 9. (r) Prim. ep. p. 110.

find a Church that may hold all the Inhabitants of a great and a populous City; for such was it now grown, by the kindness and devotion of the Christian Emperours, and by the multitude of Christians who resorted thither from all parts to visit the Sepulcher, and other places rendered venerable for having been the scene of some of the most important actions of our Saviour. But I think it is easier to make some allowance to such general expressions, than to find a Church in *Jerusalem* at that time, capacious enough to receive all the men women and children of that City.

C H A P. VI.

I Have followed the tract of Mr. *Clerkson's* discourse through Villages and Cities, from the smallest to the greatest, in search of Primitive Episcopacy; and must confess, that he has laboured hard, partly by diminishing of ancient Cities, and especially by lessening the Christians, to prove that no Bishop had in his City a greater flock for three or almost four Ages, than could assemble in one Church. How well he hath performed this undertaking, I dare not take upon me to say, being too far engaged in the dispute to be a Judge of his performance. Yet should all his Testimonies amount to a full evidence of the fact, that the greatest

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greatest Cities for so many Ages, had no more Christians than might joyn with the Bishop in one Assembly, he falls short of the main point, which is not, whether the Bishop had more Congregations than one in the place of his Residence, but whether in his whole Diocese he had no more. I know some Bishops who reside in places, that can scarce furnish a decent Congregation, and yet have more than a hundred within their Diocese. And in some of our Cities I make no doubt, but the whole people, making common allowance for necessary Absents, might be contained within the walls of the Cathedral; yet this is but a small part of the Bishops flock. If therefore in ancient times, when Mr. *Clerkson* fancied there was another species of Episcopacy, the case was the same, or not very different; all the pains he has bestowed in the reduction of Cities into a single Congregation, and all the Earthquakes and Pestilences which he called to his assistance to lessen the number of the people, might have been spared. What Country or Territory the ancient Bishops had besides the City where they lived, comes now under examination. And if it shall appear by testimonies unexceptionable, that the ancient Cities had large Territories; and that these Territories were under the Bishop of the City; and that the people there were too numerous, and too far distant to be able to come to the Bishops Church; then I hope, we shall be no more troubled with this new way of measuring ancient Bishopricks by the compass of the City wall. Here then lies the stress of the
Que-

Question concerning Primitive Episcopacy. And I cannot but observe, that Mr. *Clerkson's* diligence was not either so great in this part, or nothing could be found to give so much as a pretence to streighten the bounds of those Territories which were under the Bishops Jurisdiction, no less than the City where he lived. Yet something he thinks fit to say to this point, which I am now to consider.

(a) *It may be alledged, that not only the City and (but) a large Territory belonging to it, and the Villages therein made up the Bishops Diocese.* Answ. *If the Christians in the Villages—increased them—beyond the capacity of personal Communion, it must be in the greatest Cities, or else nowhere.* The consequence is not very evident; for some very little Cities had great Territories, as *Cyrus* where *Theodoret* was Bishop; of which more anon. And *Capua*, that was a very great City, had (b) once no Territory at all, as it happened to some other Cities in *Italy*, whose Territories the Romans took away. However let us hear how it was. *It was not so at Carthage, where all the People belonging to Cyprian, met frequently; which is plain by a hundred passages in his Epistles.* What, all the people from the Country Parishes? The Reader may depend upon it, that there is not the least title either in the Epistles, or any Tract of *Cyprian* to that purpose: And those

(a) Prim. ep. p. 110, 111.

(b) Cic. Or. contr. Rull.

passages that he refers to, are only general expressions, *all the people, all the Brotherhood*, &c. which have been already considered. Nor can it be conceived possible; for though we have not the measure of all the region belonging to *Carthage*, yet are there some hints that are sufficient to disprove this. A place ten miles distant from that City, was reckoned (c) not only in the Territory, but in the Suburbs of it; and from the distance was called *Decimum*. And it is not very likely, if there were any Christians there, that they were obliged to go to *Carthage* upon all Religious occasions. And that at this time, the places that went under the name of Suburbs, and were at some distance from the City, had their Assemblies apart from the City Bishop to whom they belonged, we may learn from the Testimony of *Dionysius* (d) Bishop of *Alexandria*, and the note of *Valesius*, (e) that the people who dwelled in remoter Suburbs, were not obliged to go to the great Church, *i. e.* of the City. And *Bethlehem*, which was but six miles from *Jerusalem*, and belonged to the Bishop of that City, did not go up to the Bishops Church so much as at Easter; as we are informed by *Jerom*, (f) who on that feast did once present some Candidates for Baptism to the Pres-

(c) Procop. Vand. l. 2.

(d) ὅς ἐν ἀποδείξει τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ μέγας ἑσθίου συναγωγὰ. Euseb. H. l. 7. c. 11.

(e) Ji qui in Suburbijis illis manebant, non cogebantur ad majoris Ecclesiæ conventus accedere. Valef. Anot.

(f) Hieron. adv. Joh. Hierosol.

byters of that place. *Yea in the fourth Age it was not so in Alexandria*, as our Author (g) fancies; and refers us to *that panegyricall Assembly*, which *Athanasius* excuses to *Constantinus*. What, all the Christians of the Diocese of *Alexandria* in that Church? Those of (h) *Nicopolis* equal to a City? Those of (i) *Canopus* reckoned it self a City, and twelve miles from *Alexandria*, and within that Diocese? What all the people of *Mareotes*? (l) where there were fourteen Parish-Presbyters and thirteen Deacons. These had some ten Villages, some more within their respective Parishes; so that we may reckon upon near a hundred Villages at least in this place. It is very strange, that all these places added as an Appendix to the Christians of *Alexandria*, should not make more than one Congregation; or that those people should travel so far to assemble with their Bishop, when they could not promise themselves any room, the City Churches being small, and the great one not yet dedicated; especially since we have shewed before, that they were not obliged to it. I am afraid, if the notion which our Author served, had required that all the Christians in *Egypt* should have been no more than could have met in one Assembly, that he would have found some

(g) Prim. ep. p. III.

(h) Strab. l. 17.

(i) τὴν Μετόποιν, σεβάσμιον ὃ ἐστὶν τῆς μεγίστης Ἀλεξανδρείας ὁ ποτε κανόπις καὶ ἁλλόθεν. Athan. Presb. Libell. apud Conc. Chalco. Act. 3. Strab. l. 17.

(l) Athanas. Apol. 2. p. 793.

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Panegyric Assembly should have comprehended them all.

He tells us how he *had shewed before, that the Christians in such Cities were no more in the first Ages than the Inhabitants of an ordinary Town, such as some of our Market-Towns; when we know, that not only those of the Town, but many Villages (sometimes near twenty) belonging to it, can and do meet together.* All he has shewed hath been examined: And this which he adds of his own knowledge, concerning Market-Towns with twenty Villages belonging to them, I will take upon his credit, though I think such instances very rare. Yet after all, this will not reach the point in question, nor answer the Territories of ancient Cities, which were much larger than Mr. Clerkson would have us believe they were. Not content with this, he thinks it advisable to add something for more satisfaction.

(m) For first, either the Territory was little, and so it was indeed for the most part. There are some will have it taken for granted, that the Territories of Cities were very large,—and they had need presume it to be exceeding large, so as it may bear some proportion to a Northern Diocese. I do not desire to have a thing taken for granted which I can so easily prove, and hope to do so effectually in this matter, that there will be no place left for exception or cavil; and I do not doubt, but some Territories of ancient Cities will appear not inferiour to some of

the Nothern Diocefes, and to the generality of the Bifhopricks of this kingdom, which are not the leaft in this part of the world. (n) *The Circuit of one of our Country Parifhes (yea of two together) they will fcorn as unworthy the repute or name of a Bifhops Diocefe; yet the Territories of the Cities where the Apostles planted Churches—amounted not to more, if fo much.* God forbid any fhould fcorn thofe bounds, which were fet by the Apostles and firft planters of Chriftianity. Yet thofe, upon whom Mr. Clerkfon reflects, have reafon to fcorn fo undeserved an Imputation. Some men are not well, unlefs they can reproach their betters; their choler works upward and muft be vented at their mouth, or elfe they cannot live. But the prefent Queftion is, how far thofe bounds extended, that were fet by the Apostles and their Succelfours.

(o) *Shall we take an eftimate of the Territory of other Cities, by that of the Levites Cities? Why not? fince many of them were Royal Cities, and may be fupposed to have the largeft allowance.* There are many reafons, why this eftimate ought not to be taken, of which I cannot think our Author ignorant. Firft, the Levites had another fort of Inheritance among their Brethren, that is, the Tythes; and for that reafon they may be reafonably fupposed to have a fhorter Territory. And the ufe, for which thofe Suburbs were given the Levites, fhew that it needed not to be as large as thofe of

(n) Prim. ep. p. 112.

(o) Prim. ep. p. 113.

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the Cities of other Tribes; for they were given them only (p) *for their Cattle*, this Tribe having no Tillage, because it received the Tythes of the rest of *Israel*. Besides, not only the Cities of the *Levites*, but those of the other Tribes, are very improper instances in this question. For the Age of *Moses* is so distant from that of Christ, and the circumstances of the world so different; that no estimate can be taken of one by the other. The Cities, which the children of *Israel* divided between the Tribes, when they possessed themselves of *Canaan*, were above twenty times as many as they had under that title in our Saviour's time. For in *Moses* his time it seems every small Town passed for a City; but in that of our Saviour it was otherwise. And as the Cities were then greater, and less numerous, so was their Territory proportionably more large; at leastwise in the sense of the present Question. That some Cities of the *Levites* were *Royal*, is not to the purpose; for if they were all to have the same measure of Suburbs, according to that *Agrarian Law* of *Moses*, (q) of two thousand Cubits on each side, it can signify nothing that once they had been Royal Cities; for then their Suburbs might not have the same bounds, as they had afterward when they became the possession of the *Levites*. How small a Territory the City *Tyre* might have when Mr. *Sands* was there, belongs not at all to our Question, which is

(p) Jos. 21. 2.

(q) Jos. 21.

put much higher, concerning the general use of ancient times. But in truth, Mr *Sands* says not that the Territories of *Tyre* extended no farther than six miles in length and two in breadth; but only that when he was in those parts, the *Emir* of *Sidon* had given it with so much of the adjacent Country to his Brother.

(*r*) Or shall we be determined by *Crete*, the place whether the Text insisted on for this purpose leads us? I am content; so our Author do not confound the Fables of *Homer* with the History of *St. Paul*. But here again he talks of his hundred Cities; and then certainly the Territory of each must be very small. But this hath been so often answered, that I am afraid to venture upon another repetition. This Island is computed by some old Authors in *Strabo*, (*s*) who are commended for exactness, to be three hundred miles long, and about fifty broad; and those (*t*) who say the least, want but thirty miles of this reckoning: And about the time of the Council of *Chalcedon*, all the Island had but eight Bishops. In latter times *Volateran* reckons ten, and *Cluverius* but nine. For the hundred Cities, I can only say with *Solinus*, (*u*) that they were prodigal of their language, who speak of so many in *Crete*.

(*r*) Prim. ep. p. 114.

(*t*) Plin. l. 4. c. 12.

(*s*) Strab. l. 10.

(*u*) Centum urbibus, sicut

perhibent, qui prodigi lingua largiti sunt. Solin. Polyb. c. 17.

(x) If we go farther, where Cities were not great, the Territory was not large, these being—commonly proportionable. This was no rule, as we shall shew by several instances; and our Author could not but know of one. For *Antioch* upon *Meander*, which he brings as an instance of a mean City, is in that very place which he cites, said (y) to have a great Territory on both sides of the River. (z) Nor could it be large, where Cities were numerous, and stood near together;—no room there for a Territory. It was seldom that Cities stood so close, but there was room for such a Territory, that the people required distinct Congregations, and could not with any convenience repair to the City Church. And it will appear even from those Countries, where Cities stood thickest, that the Bishops were Diocesan. *Laodicea*, he observes, (a) and *Hierapolis*, both Metropoles, are but six miles distant; nor can it be thought their Territory was large other ways: for there were other Cities, which must have their Territories too, nearer them any way than they were to one another. Our Author is here more liberal of his assertion than proof; and about matters at so great a distance one cannot be blamed as too scrupulous, if he require some competent Testimony.

(x) Prim. ep. p. 114. (y) *ἡ πόλις ἔχει πολλὴν*
ἐν τῇ ποταμῷ, πᾶσαι ἐνδοχίμους. Strab. l. 13.
 (z) Prim. ep. p. 114. (a) Prim. ep. p. 115.

(b) But we need go no farther for satisfaction than the notion of a Territory, as it is universally agreed on. With all my heart: For if the notation of the word, or the definition of the thing, be sufficient to give satisfaction; I shall be very willing to wave the trouble of surveying the Country, or turning over the Terriers of every particular City. Pomponius so defines it; *Territorium est Universitas agrorum intra fines cujusque Civitatis, intra quos, prout ait Siculus Flaccus, jurisdictionis jus erat.* And it was called a Territory, because the Magistrate within those bounds had a *jus terrendi, i. e. summovendi.* And those Magistrates were punishable, who exercised any Jurisdiction, or used the ensigns of their authority beyond the limits of the Territory of their Cities. So far it is very well. But it does not yet satisfy us about the main Question, how large these Territories usually were. Now therefore our Author begins to infer: by which it appears, the Territory reached no farther than the Jurisdiction of the City Magistrates. This is allowed; but how far that was, is still the Question.

At last he draws to the point. *How many Cities can be shewed us in the Roman Empire, where the Jurisdiction reached further than it doth in our Cities? When shall we see any proof, that ordinarily it was of more extent? With us it is known to be commonly of no more extent, than the circuit of one of our Country Parishes. How much farther does the authority of the Mayor of Lincoln or Win-*

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chester or Canterbury reach? No more is their Territory. Alas, after all our reading and quoting of Greek and Latin Authors, are we come to demand a proof, that the Territories of Greek and Roman Cities were larger than those of ours? I cannot believe Mr. Clerkson so ignorant of a matter so obvious in almost all the Authors he quotes. But perhaps he might be willing, that others should fancy of this matter, not as it really was, but so as might be most advantageous to the Congregational notion. Now since he requires proof of a thing so plain; I will comply with the opportunity, though to the learned Reader it may not seem so necessary. I will begin with *Amasea*, the City of *Strabo*, who may be allowed as a competent witness for the measure of the Territory of his own Town. Then follows my Country, says the Geographer, (c) the Territory of *Amasia*, the best and the greatest of all Territories. And we cannot wonder at such expressions, when we hear the particulars. From the River, says he, begins a Vally something narrow at first, and then opens and grows wider, (d) which makes up that field, that has its name from a thousand Villages. And this is not all; but he names other Regions beyond this, belonging to the same City, as far as the River

*Amasea.
Ponti.*

(c) ἡ κατ' ἑαυτὴν χώρα, ἡ τῶν Ἀμασίων, πολυπαστῶν πλείστη καὶ ἀρίστη. Strab. l. 12.

(d) καὶ περὶ τὴν χαλιδέων καλὴν πεδύνην. Strab. ibid.

Halys: all this on the North side; and the length of the Territory that way, was five hundred furlongs, which makes above sixty miles. Another way it is (a) longer, and reaches to *Babanomus* and *Ximene*, which likewise reaches to *Halys*. This, says he, is the length of it, the breadth is from North to South; but he does not express the measure any otherwise than from the City Northward; which he reckons 500 *Stadia*. I hope this Territory is of greater extent, than my Lord Mayor's Liberties, and goes something farther than from *Newgate* to *Holborn Bars*. Nor do I believe the Mayor of *Lincoln* or *Canterbury* will vye with this City for extent of Jurisdiction.

Cyzicus. *Cyzicus*, though a greater City than *Amasea*, had a less Territory: yet such it was, that it does not seem inferiour for extent, to many of our Bishopricks. It was seated in an Island of the same name, which belonged to it, which was five hundred furlongs in compass. Yet besides this (b) it had a great Territory, partly ancient, and part acquired by their service in the Roman wars: that part of *Troas* that was beyond the river *Asopus*, and the Country about *Zelea*, and the Plain of *Adrassteia*, and part of the Country about the lake of *Dascelis*.

(a) ταύτης ἡ ἀγίτη πολὺ ἐπιμακρότερον μέχρι τοῦ Βαβανόμου. Id. (b) ᾧ ἔχει πολλήν, τὴν μὲν ἐκ παλαιῶ, τὴν δὲ τῶν Ῥωμαίων περὶ δέντων.

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Antioch had (c) a great Country belonging *Antioch* to it, and many Villages that were equal to Cities. How great a Country does it possess, says *Libanius*, when several Villages belonging to it, are greater and more populous than many Cities? *Daphne* remains in the condition of a Suburb; yet if it vye with Cities, it would surpass them upon many accounts. Nor is it without reason, that *Libanius* magnifies the Territory of *Antioch*; for it (d) reached on one side to the Region of *Cyrrus*, which was two days journey, or fifty miles distant; and perhaps it might reach as far on other sides, excepting that towards the Sea, which according to *Libanius* (e) was but fifteen miles from the City. *Theodoret* mentions many Monks, who lived in several parts of the Region of *Antioch*. *Asterius*, who lived in the Country about *Gindarus*, which was (f) a very great Village, and belonged to *Antioch*, though in older times it had belonged to the region of *Cyrrus*, and is called a City by *Strabo*. (g) The same Author (b) mentions one *Simeon*, who is said to have wrought a miracle in some

(c) πόσῃν νέμεται γῆν. Lib. de vit. sua. p. 2. Κόμμα μεγάλης ἢ πλυσάνθρωποι ἢ πλείων ἐκ ὀλίγων πλέον πολυανδρείωσι. Δείσθῃ αἰδοῖ τῆς πλείας ἐν προσέειε τάξι μινύνηκε. &c. Liban. *Antioch*. (d) *Strab.* l. 16. *Theod. ep.* 42. (e) Liban. *Antioch.* p. 339.

(f) κάμν δὲ αὕτη μερὶς πλείν ὑπὸ τὴν Ἀντόχειαν πετραγμένη. *Theod. Rel. Hist. in Julian*.

(g) *Str.* l. 16. (b) ὁ μόνον τὸς πειρίχους ἀλλ' αὖ καὶ τὴν πόλιν, τὴν Ἀντόχου λέγω, ὑπὸ ταύτην γὰρ τὸ γένος ἐπέλει. *Theodor. vit. Sim. Prisci*.

Village near the Mountain *Amanus*, which did not only fill all the neighbourhood of that place with fear and astonishment, but the whole City likewise; I mean, says he, *Antioch*, for that place belonged to it: so that by this Expression we cannot judge it to be very near.

Thebes. *Beotia* was five hundred furlongs or sixty two miles in length, and about four and thirty miles in breadth, according to *Dicaearchus*; (i) yet since *Epaminondas* his time, it was all but the territory of *Thebes*. *Attica* was a great Country, and (l) all of it the territory of *Athens* ever since *Theseus* his time.

Lacedæmon. *Lacedæmon* (m) had a territory sufficient to maintain thirty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse. All *Arcadia* was but the territory of *Megalopolis*. And *Elis*, tho' no great City, had so large a Country belonging to it, that many Country Families for several generations did never see the City to which they belonged; which *Polybius* ascribes partly (n) to the largeness of the region, partly to the simplicity of their manners. *Miletus*, when it was taken by the *Persians*, had a large Country belonging to it, (o) which the Conquerors divided; that part that was near the

(i) *Dicaearch.* ἀναρχία ἐν Λακωνίᾳ. p. 167.

(l) *Dio. Chrys.* Orat. 46. (m) *Arist.* Polit. I. 2.

(n) διὰ τὴν πλῆθος τῆς γῆρας. *Polyb.* Hist. I. 4. p. 468.

(o) τῆς Μιλησίου γῆρας αὐτοὶ μὲν οἱ Πέρσαι εἶχον τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, τὰ δὲ ὑπεράνω ἐδόσαν ἕκαστοι περὶ αὐτὴν ἐκτίθησαν. *Herodot.* I. 6.

City, the Persians took to themselves; that which was remote, they gave the people of *Pedasa*. And after this, the Region belonging to that City received great accession of territory, when (p) all the small neighbouring Colonies of the *Milesians* in *Æolis* and *Troas* and about the *Hellepont*, leaving their own small Cities, went and settled at *Miletus*, and increased the dependencies of that City by the addition of their several regions. The territory of *Byzantium* joyned to that of *Perinthus*, and was therefore added to that City by *Severus*; (q) yet these two Cities are above three-score miles distant one from the other, as we find in *Antonius's* Itinerary: which as to this distance agrees exactly with the *Itinerary* of *Jerusalem*. *Calene*, or *Apamea* in *Phrygia*, is commended by *Dio* (r) for the many Towns that belonged to it, which wanted nothing of Cities but the Title: and *Apamia* in *Syria* appears yet more considerable for its territory, as it is described by *Strabo*. (s) It has a very great and fertile Region belonging to it, and pastures for cattle of prodigious extent. Many

(p) Dio. Chrys. Or. 46. (q) Herodian. l. 3. ff. 19.
 αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτοῖς περιουσίους ἐχαρίζετο. Xiphil. in Severo.

(r) πολλὰς τῶν ἀγωνύμων πόλεων, τὰ δὲ πολλὰς ἐνδαίμονας Κώμας ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἔχει. Dio. Chrys. Or. 35.

(s) χώρας ἐνπερὶ παντὸς ἐνδαίμονας — λαμῶνας τε ἐσθότας καὶ ἰσχυροτάτας διαχειροῦσας ὑπεράλλοντας τὸ μέγεθος. Strab. l. 16.

Towns, that had been accounted Cities, were but in the nature of Villages to this City. *Secoana* (t) was a fortress in this territory, where *Tryphon* the Tyrant was born. *Larissa*, (u) and several other great places, that *Strabo* names, were but the dependencies of *Apamea*. In this Country *Seleucus Nicator* kept five hundred Elephants and a great part of his Army. Here the succeeding Kings kept their Studs, and had thirty thousand Mares in this region for Breed. These were Greek Cities and Colonies. We will in the next place give some instances of the Roman, and compare their territories with the Liberties of our English Cities.

Mantua The territory of *Cremona* was divided between the Veterans, sent thither by *Augustus*; and *Cremona*, and not being sufficient for the number, (x) *Octavianus Musca*, who had the ordering of that Colonie, took fifteen miles from the territory of *Mantua*, which suffered not for any offence of its own, but only by an unfortunate neighbourhood, *Mantua vae misera nimium vicina Cremonae*. Nor was this all that belonged to it; for *Alphenus Varus* the Surveyour had order to leave the City three miles

(t) ἐν φερίῳ πύλῃ τῆς Ἀπαμείων γῆς.

(u) ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ταύτης ἔξω τὰς ἀφορμὰς τῶν περιουσίαν. Λαρίσσης — καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων. Strab. l. 16.

(x) Usque ad eum locum *Octavianus Musca* perticam militarem porrexerat. Limitator ab *Augusto* datus, i. e. per quindecim millia passuum agri Mantuani, cum *Cremonensis* non sufficeret. Serv. in *Virg. Eclog. 9*.

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on every side, to be measured from the wall; which he is said (y) to observe with such a malicious exactness, that he took near a mile of water with which the City was encompassed into the reckoning, as he is reproached by one *Cornelius*. So we have a territory of above twenty miles belonging to an ordinary Town. And even that small part that remained, is much more than what belongs to our Cities; and less than this, they did not usually leave, (z) when they thought fit to punish any Town by depriving it of its Region. Such a poor remnant was left to *Ameria* upon the like occasion; for *Cæsars* law operated not within three miles of the City, as we learn from *Claudius* his Commentaries. *Mantua* was but a small place, and much inferior to *Cremona*, which was a great Colonie long before this calamity, and in all likelihood had a much longer territory than *Mantua*. We have had occasion to speak of that place before, about the number of *Roman* Colonies sent thither, which Mr. *Clerkson* disparages because it was no more than six thousand: Whereas it must be no ordinary territory, that will serve such a number, according to the usual proportion of distributing the territory of a Colony. For

(y) Cum iussus tria milla passus a muro in diversa relinquere ut octingentos passus aquæ qua circumdata est, admetireris. Or. Corn. in Alphen. apud Serv. in Eclog. 9.

(z) Termini nunquam ambiguum receperant circa ipsum oppidum, sed extra tertium milliarium Lex Cæsariana operata est, Comment. Claud. Cæs. de Colonijs. Ed. Rigalt.

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every one of those Planters had a portion of Land allotted them, and were as so many free-holders among us; and we may take a certain estimate of the Regions belonging to such Roman Plantations from such instances of Agrarian distribution, which happen to be preserved.

Bononia *Bononia* was a Roman Colony, and those who were first sent thither (a) were but three thousand: yet the territory divided between them was very great, as will appear from the lots of each Soldier. Every Foot-man had fifty Acres, every Horse-man seventy: but reckoning all as Foot, there will arise a sum of a hundred and fifty thousand Acres, which alone would be a Country equal to many of our Counties. And when you have added the publick estate, which always had a considerable portion on these occasions, the Officers, who had always double to the common Soldiers, besides the waste and unprofitable Land which must be supposed within such a compass; such a territory will vie with our greater Counties. *Thureum* had (b) three thousand Foot and three hundred Horse sent to it as a Colony; the Foot-men had forty Acres a piece, the Horse-men double; which comes little short of the reckoning of *Bononia*. This

(a) *Tria millia hominum sunt deducta, Equit. 70 jugera, cæteris 50. Liv. l. 37.*

(b) *Sigon. de Antiq. Jure. Ital. l. 1. Onuphr. Descript. Imp. Rom. l. 3. Liv. l. 34. Strab. l. 6. Apustio autore, tertia pars agri adempta.*

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indeed was thought too much for the number of people, and therefore a third part was taken off; yet still the territory was very large. The Veterans, who had served *Scipio Africanus*, were drawn (c) to *Venusia*, which had a great Territory, but had been dispeopled in the Wars of *Hannibal*; the Soldiers had each two Acres for every year they had served in those Wars. But the greatest yet is that of *Aquileia*, (d) whither three thousand Foot and three hundred Horse-men were sent for a Colony. The Foot had fifty Acres each, the Centurions double, the Horse-men seven-score. In more remote Provinces the Territories of their Colonies seem to be yet larger, there was more Land to spare: and (e) when they first planted in a Conquered Country, they did not only take in so much of the Country, as that new Colony could use, but according to their hopes of future increase. The Colonies of *Julius* and *Augustus*, who had a great number of Legions to provide for after the Civil Wars were ended, seemed to surpass the rest. The one peopled *Carthage* and *Corinth*, and several other places of principal reputation abroad, besides the Cities of *Italy*; the other threw in all *Achaia* in a manner, for a territory of *Patrae*, and many places that were Cities, and

(c) Liv. l. 31.

(d) Sigon. de Antiq. Jur. Ital. l. 1. Liv. l. 39. & 40.

(e) Nec tantum terræ occupaverunt quod colere possent, sed quantum in spe colendi reservaverunt. Sicut. Flav. de Condit. Agr. p. 3. Ed. Rigalt.

were memorable in story for considerable actions, he drew into his new City. The Territory of it was above forty miles long, as we may gather from the description of (f) *Pausanias*. *Nicopolis* (g) had the same fortune, and a great number of the neighbouring Cities, and all that belonged to them made up but the Territory of that City. In *Gaul*, *Nismes* was remarkable for Territory and the extent of her jurisdiction, and upon that account is (h) preferred to *Narbo*. It had, as *Strabo* takes notice, four and twenty Villages: which sounds something oddly, as if the Territory of *Narbo*, the chief of that Country, had not so many Villages under it, or as if it were an extraordinary thing. But the word, which is translated Village, had a peculiar signification in that Country, as *Cæsar* (i) informs us. The whole Community or Country of the *Helvetians*, says he, was divided in *quatuor Pagos*, and one such division as this within the memory of our Fathers, killed L. *Cassius* the Roman Consul, and put his Army under the yoke. And the same *Pagus*, which was the people of *Zurich*, *Cæsar* had the fortune to defeat the

(f) *Pausan.* *Achaic.* p. 429. 431. 440. 441.

(g) ἂν τίς πλείους περιείδες γεγονῆαι, ἢ καὶ πάντας τῆς Νικοπόλεως. *Strab.* l. 10.

(h) κατὰ δὲ τὸ πολὺ πλεονὺς ὑπερβαλλούσα. ἔστ. Ναρβόνης ὑπερβόη· γὰρ ἔχει πόλιν καὶ τῶν διώκοντων. ἐναντίον διασπείρας, συντελεῖται εἰς αὐτήν. *Strab.* l. 4.

(i) Nam omnis Civitas Helvetia in quatuor Pagos divisa est — hic Pagus unus, &c. *Cæsar*, de Bell. Gall. l. 1.

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first of all the *Helvetians*; so that four and twenty of these divisions must be accounted very extraordinary, since so great a Country as *Helvetia* had but four. *Du Chesne* therefore renders the word, not Villages, but *Communities*. The Hundreds, into which our Counties are divided, may in some measure express it; which are usually named from some Village that might be the chief of the division, when it was first made. To conclude, *Zela* in *Pontus* was enlarged (1) by *Pompey*, by the accession of several Towns which he drew into it, and to make this City compleat, he added many Prefectures to its Territory.

I know it is a thing of ill fame to put questions to the Dead; and therefore I will not so much as return those demands of Mr. *Clerkson*, that call for proof of one of the plainest things in the World: That (m) the Jurisdiction of the Roman and Greek Cities reached farther than that of ours, unless there may be a new scruple about the City Officers having authority over the Territory; which I think can scarce happen to a Man that has read a Latin Author.

Nor is it evident only from a few Instances, that some ancient Cities had large Territories;

(1) πολλὰς δὲ ἐπαρχίας προσώρισεν τῷ τόπῳ, καὶ πόλιν ἀνέδυσσε. Strab. l. 14.

(m) Tria erant urbium spacia, mœnia, pomœria, Territoria, 1. Muris. 2. Vicinia Murorum, ultima jurisdictione civitatum fimebantur. Gotofred. in l. 5. de legat. fund. Cod. Th.

but the largeness of it is implied in the word it self: For as *Aristotle* observes of a City, that the very name signifies a competence of measure; so is it in respect of the Territory that appertains to it. By *Ager*, which is the usual word for Territory, *We understand*, says *St. Augustin*, (n) not only Castles, or Burgs, but *Municipia*, or *Corporation Towns*, and *Colonies without the City*, which is the head and as it were the *Mother of the rest*. And the old *Glosse* (o) renders it by the *Land of a Colony*. And whoever reads the (p) *Agrarian Writers*, will soon perceive, though they speak only in the general, that it is not a Parish or a few Villages they are dividing. When *Justinian* divided *Aqua* in *Dacia Ripensi*, from *Meridianum*, he allows (q) the Bishop of *Aqua* not only his City, but all the Castles or Burgs and Territories and Churches, that belonged to it. One would not easily imagin, this to be the description of one of our Country Parishes. And *Plato* and *Aristotle* (r) as oft as they mention what Territory is to be allowed, require it

(n) Agri autem nomine non Castella tantum, verum etiam Municipia, & Coloniae solent vocari extra Civitatem, quae caput & quasi mater ceterarum. Aug. de Consens. Evang. l. 3. c. 24.

(o) Territorium, ἄγρος ἐπὶ κολωνίᾳ. Gloss. vet.

(p) Autor. de Re Agr. Ed. Rigalt.

(q) Aquensis autem Episcopus habeat praesatam Civitatem & omnia ejus Castella & Territoria & Ecclesias.

Nov. 11. (r) πλῆθει καὶ μεγέθει ποσὺν ὥστε δινασθαι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ζῆν ὁλοκλήρως ἐλευθερίως ἅμα καὶ σφετέρως. Arift. Pol. l. 7. c. 5.

should

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should be not only sufficient for all the Inhabitants, but that it should answer all publick occasions of peace and war, and yield the Citizens such a competence, that they might live at their ease. For he forbids his Citizens to meddle with the plow; but to leave (s) that to be done by servants or Country people. Nor were the proper parts of his City of Artizans neither; but of Soldiers and Magistrates, and such as were proper for Council. And these being in his supposition to be numerous, were to be supported from their estates in the Territory of the place, which therefore must be supposed of great extent. In short, the general notion of the thing does not admit the narrowness of Mr. *Clerkson's* conceit; and the word it self speaks something that is proportionable to the greatness and distinction of a City.

The difference between the constitution of ancient Cities, and those of later ages in this part of the world will appear; if we consider first, that they were greater communities, not confined within the walls of one Town, but stretched over all the adjacent Country. For the Jurisdiction of the City Magistrate reached as far as the community; for the City was the head and supream part of it, all the Magistrates within the Territory being subordinate. Nor was this all, but (f) the Citi-

(s) ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν τὰς γέφυρας δόλους ἢ βαρβάτους ἢ πε-
 εἰσέλας. (f) ἡ χώρα, τῆς πόλεως. ἀλλ' ἐξέν ἡττον τῶν
 κατὰ πόλιν ἐστὶς κωμῆς ἐπὶ τῶν ἐωτῶν. Dio. Chrys. Or. 30.

zens were proprietors of that Territory, who commonly lived in the City, and left the Villages to their Slaves, or to such Country people that were in the nature of Tenants under a servile Tenure. The title was in the City, though particular Citizens had the possession; nor could any, as I think, have a right to possess any estate in that Territory, who was not first free of the City. The greater Villages, which answer our Burroughs, had Magistrates of their own, but subordinate to those of the City, and generally chose by the City; as *Frontinus* (†) informs us; and I think I have observed already upon another occasion. And lastly the ancient Cities were greater in their design, which was generally military; and there was scarce any so mean, that had not some provision for war. The Greek Colonies in the midst of barbarous Nations, were like so many Camps; and the Romans filled all their conquests with Cities of their own people, with a design of securing the Countries they had subdued. Now as it is natural to all things to beget after their own likeness; so the *Greeks* and *Romans* did in this respect. For *Greece* consisting of many Cities independent, propagated their kind, as far as their Arms or their Ships carried them. And *Rome* from a small City, becoming mistress of a great part of the world, planted every where little models of it self; and shared the world between its Colonies, as so many children.

(†) *Frontin. de limit. Agr. p. 57.*

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And where they could not fill all the Country, they preserved such Cities as they found, and every where encouraged the people by their example, to form themselves into such communities. So that generally speaking, all the Roman dominion was parcelled out into Cities and Territories that belonged to them; whole Provinces were effectually represented by the Deputies of the Cities of it. And though in some places there might be exemptions, yet in general thus the Roman Dominion was digested.

Upon this constitution Christianity was superinduced, and the Churches of Christ being so many communities, and having some resemblance to Cities, so far as to take their name from the civil assemblies, grew up according to the shape of those civil communities in which they were planted, and had the same common bounds and measure with them. So that when the whole lump was leavened, and all the people were reduced to the obedience of faith; the Church and the City in respect of their matter were the same. The rules indeed and the ends of the City of man and the City of God, were very different, and stood as wide asunder, as Heaven is from the Earth; but the same people were both the Citizens and the Christians. The Church and the City had one and the same Territory; and as far as the Jurisdiction of the civil Magistrate reached, so far was the Diocese of the Bishop extended. Our Saviour having left no rule about limits, the Apostles made no new distributions, but followed the form of the

C c 4

Empire,

Empire, planting in every City a compleat and entire Church, that consisted not only of the Inhabitants of the City, but of the Region belonging to it. If any were converted, and if their distance or number made them incapable of repairing to the City-Church upon all their Religious occasions, they had Congregations apart, and subordinate Officers to attend them, as it was in the civil disposition; our Saviour having appointed several Orders in his Church, and the Apostles propagating those, and appointing some new, as occasion required. Only, as in greater causes, the Country people sued in the City Courts; so likewise in such causes of Religion, that concerned the whole community, such as that of receiving in, and turning out of the communion, the Christians of the Territory were under the authority of the City-Church. Hence it is, that the Canons of ancient Councils mention a Territory belonging to every City Bishop. The thirty fourth Canon (*u*) of those called Apostolick, forbids a Bishop to do any thing without the concurrence of his Metropolitan, but what related to his own Diocese, and the Territories under it. And the ninth of *Nice*, that provides so favourably for the *Puritans* when they should return to the communion of the Church, supposeth Bishops to have a considerable Diocese besides their City. For by this it is ordered, that if a Bishop of the

(*u*) ὅσα τῇ αὐτῇ περιεχίμα ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνδρῶν.
Can. 34.

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Puritans should embrace Catholick Communion, and there were another Bishop of the Catholick Church in the same City, that then (x) the Puritan should either retain the title of a Bishop in the same City, if the other did think fit, or else be received as a Presbyter. But least this may have the appearance of two Bishops in the same Town; some place is to be provided for him, that he may be either a *Chorepiscopus*, or a Presbyter in the Country. The Synod of *Antioch* forbids the Presbyters of the Territories to send Canonical letters; and in another, gives the Bishop of the City full authority (y) to order Ecclesiastical affairs, not only in his City, but in the whole Territory that belongs to it, to ordain Presbyters and Deacons, to exercise Jurisdiction, within the extent of his Diocese. And in the next Canon forbids, (z) the *Chorepiscopi* to ordain Presbyters or Deacons in the Country, without the consent of the Bishop of the City, to which they and the Territory did belong. The Council of *Elvira* speaks of Deacons (a) that had Country cures, and that the Bishop, to whom they belonged, was to perfect those who were baptized by these Cures, by confirmation.

(x) ἐν δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ μὴ ὁρέσκει, ἐπιγράφει τὸν ἢ χωρεπισκόπου, ἢ πρ-σβυτέρου. Can. Nicen. 8.

(y) παρόντων ποιῶντες πάσης τῆς χώρας τῆς ὑπὸ τὴν ἐαυτῶ πόλιν. Can. Antioch. 9.

(z) δὶχα τὰ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐπισκόπου, ἢ ὑποκείμεναι αὐτῷ π καὶ ἡ χώρα. Can. Antioch. 10.

(a) Diaconus regens plebem. Can. Eliber. 77.

Basil

Basil (b) salutes the Country Clergy of the Diocese of *Nicopolis* distinct from those of the City; and *Theodoret* who had a Diocese forty miles square, reckoned (c) his Episcopacy of divine institution, and that his large Territory as well as his City, was committed into his hands by God. *Theodosius* Bishop of *Synnada* is said to drive the *Macedonian* Hereticks not only out of his City, but (d) out of all his Territories. And *Eustathius* (e) overthrew all the Altars of *Basilides* in all the Territory of *Gangra*. And *Synesius* writing to the whole Church of *Prolemais*, addresseth to the people of the City, and to those of the Country Parishes that belonged to it. It would be an endless labour to alledge all the instances of this nature; since nothing is more obvious and occurs more frequently in Ecclesiastical Writers.

I have shewed how great Territories belonged anciently to the Greek and Roman Cities; how unlike their constitution was to ours, and especially in this respect: I have also shewed, that the civil and Ecclesiastical Territories were the same; and Mr. *Clerkson* confesses it. His demands therefore concerning this matter receive a full answer; and the proof which he

(b) *Basil*. ep. 192. (c) πόλει καὶ χώρῃ διότι μοι ἐγχρησίσθη. *Theod.* ep. 42.

(d) ἀλλ' ἐκ παν ἀγρῶν. *Socr.* l. 7. c. 3.

(e) *Basil.* ep. 73. (f) ὅτε ἐν αὐτῇ δήμῳ καὶ ἔσσι καὶ ἀγροῖς, ἡ κομμηνικὸς ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀνελίσσεται. *Synes.* ep. 11.

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required not without intimation of despair, made good, and beyond all reasonable exception.

To make this matter yet more clear, I will instance in some Bishopricks whose extent are known, or so much at leastwise, as discovers them to be Dioceses consisting of many Country Parishes, besides the City Churches. I will begin with the Bishoprick of *Theodore*, because the limits of it have been described with greatest exactness and particularity. The Diocese of *Cyrus* was forty miles in length, and as much in breadth: And *Theodore* (*b*) proceeds to describe it so minutely, that he sets down the number of acres, together with the condition and tenure of the land. There were fifty thousand free from any service, ten thousand belonging to the Fisc, about fifteen thousand more subject to taxes, but unable to pay according to the proportion then set. So that this instance seems clear beyond all exception. And as to the Ecclesiastical state of this Territory, in his Epistle to *Leo* he says, (*i*) there were eight hundred Churches in it, all belonging to his care. Yet some have endeavoured to take off the evidence of this Epistle to *Leo*, when it was urged by the learned Bishop of *Worcester*. Mr. *Baxter* suspects it, because it came from the *Vatican* Library; and Mr. *Clerkson* (*l*) suggests the same suspicion. But this frivolous cavil hath been an-

(*b*) *Theod. ep. 42.* (*i*) *Theod. ep. 113.*

(*l*) No evid. of Dioc. Ep. p. 39.

swered by the same hand that alledged the instance.

I will take the liberty to add only this, that it happens fortunately to this Epistle, that it hath an ancient voucher, and a clear testimony in the next age after it was written. For *Liberatus* (m) makes mention of it, and informs us, that *Theodoret* wrote to *Leo*, suggesting how much he had suffered of *Dioscorus*, and desiring, that for the remedy of these evils another Council might be called. And (n) *Garnerius* in his observation upon this place, directs us to this Epistle to *Leo*. Mr. *Clerkson* instead of *eight hundred Churches*, constantly reads eighty, without so much as giving notice, that it is only his conjecture. But be the number how it will, we must lay aside all thoughts of Congregational Episcopacy in this Region.

Another exception against this instance is offered by Mr. *Clerkson*, (o) that this was not a Diocese, but a Province; and that *Theodoret* was a Metropolitan. And for this he quotes the learned Author, whose testimonies he pretended to answer; although he expressly says, that this is not to be understood of the Province but of the Diocese of *Theodoret*. The truth is, *Cyrus* was no *Metropolis*, nor was *Theodoret* Primate of the Province, but under a

(m) Quos secutus Theodoretus Papæ suggestit, quanta mala pertulerit, — rogans ut tali causæ subveniretur. Liber. Brev. c. 12.

(n) Constat. ex ep. p. 113, 115. Garner. in Liber. p. 83.

(o) No evid. of Dioc. p. 39.

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Metropolitan, as he affirms in one of his Epistles: *They sent*, says he, (p) *letters of summons, as to other Metropolitans, so likewise to ours.* And this was *Alexander* Bishop of *Hierapolis*, the Metropolis of *Euphratesia*, who subscribes among the Metropolitans in the Oriental Synod (q) in *Ephesus*. In those subscriptions all the Metropolitans have their quality marked, and *Theodoret* subscribes as a simple Bishop. *Stephen* the successor of *Alexander*, subscribes in the Synod of *Constantinople* under *Gennadius*, as Metropolitan of the Province of *Euphratesia*: as I find in a Manuscript of the *Bodley Library*. For the subscriptions of that Council are wanting in all editions: and in that Manuscript there are but thirty four names, whereas seventy three Bishops are said to be present; and the same person is a subscriber to the Council of *Chalcedon*. *Theodoret* (r) does acknowledge *Alexander* for his Metropolitan, in several of the Epistles published by *Lupus* and *Garnerius*; and sends to him to appoint where the Bishops of his Province shall meet; and an assembly of the Bishops of that Province make a profession of acquiescing in what he should propound; and that they would observe him as their common

(p) ἀπέδωκεν ἄλλοις τε πρὸς τῶν μητροπολίτων, καὶ τῷ ἡμετέρῳ τὰ τῆς ἐκείνου γερήματα. Theod. ep. 16.

(q) Act. Conciliab. Ephes.

(r) Hypomnest. Theodoretī ad Alexand. Metrop. ep. 34. Ed. Garnerij. ad Alexand. Prov. Euphr. Metrop. ep. 68. ut ubicunque jubeas conveniamus. Theod. ep. 81. ep. 82. Omnes enim & ut Patrem & Dominum reveremur. ep. 89

Father and their Lord. And *Andreas* Bishop of *Samofata*, speaking in the name of his Brethren of the Province, owns (s) him as their head, and that he had in all things a preheminance. Long before this, *Hierapolis* is named as the head of *Commagena* or *Euphratesia*; for it is the same Province, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* (t) observes. In the Council of *Chalcedon*, *Theodoret* was no Metropolitan; as appears by his subscription (u) in the middle of the Bishops of the Province, of whom the greater part were present. So that this fancy of Mr. *Clerkson*, that the passage of *Theodoret* in his Epistle to *Leo*, is to be understood of his Province and not of his Diocese, appears evidently to be destitute of all foundation. *Cyrus* was indeed called *Hagiopolis* in later times; but the Province never bore that name, as it seems to do in the Greek *Notitia* of *Car. a S. Paulo*: but the word was removed by the negligence of Copists from the City to the Province, the City being in the Manuscript Copy, as well as Print, placed at the top of a column, and having two names, one of them was set higher than the line of the column, and so joyned to the title of the Province. But in that *Notitia*, as well as in the description (x) of the Empire by *Hierocles*, *Cyrrus* is placed under *Hierapolis*.

(s) Licet enim instar capitis in omnibus nos præcellas. Ep. 84.

(t) Commagena nunc Euphratenis clementer adfurgit; Hierapoli vetere Nino, & Samofata, civitatibus amplis illustris. l. 14. c. 8.

(u) Theod. ep. 94. 161. Ed. Lupi.

(x) Mirzus. Not. Episc. l. 3. p. 142.

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In succeeding times indeed it came to be an Arch-Bishoprick; but Honorary only and without any Suffragans, as several other Cities of the same Province did.

The next instance shall be the Diocese of St. *Augustin*; who mentions a Castle called *Fussala*, with a Territory belonging to it, forty miles from *Hippo Regius*; which never had a Bishop of its own, but belonged to the Diocese of *Hippo*. Against this clear testimony, Mr. *Clerkson* (y) hath offered some exceptions, which I shall examine. St. *Austin*, says he, signifies plainly, that there were more Bishops in the Territory of *Hippo*, when (z) he moved Januarius the Primate of the Donatists, that they would meet together with the Catholick Bishops that were in the Territory. Although it should be granted, that there were several Bishops in that Region; yet does not this make St. *Austin*'s Diocese less than forty miles in length; since he affirms (a) expressly, that this *Fussala* belonged to the Diocese of the Church of *Hippo*; and it is very unlikely that there were other Dioceses between: so that the Territory of *Hippo* on that side, must belong to the Bishop of the City. This exception then cannot impeach that testimony of St. *Austin* concerning the extent of his Bishoprick; for it might be so long one

(y) No evid. of Dioc. p. 27.

(z) Ecce interim Episcopos nostros qui sunt in Regione Hipponensi convenite. Aug. ep. 68. Ed. Frob.

(a) Ad Paræciam Hipponensis Ecclesiæ pertinebat.

way,

way, allowing more Bishops to be in the Region. But after all, this passage alledged by Mr. *Clerkson* does not prove, that the Region of *Hippo* had any more Bishops than St. *Augustin*; for the Bishops mentioned to be in that Territory, were the Bishops of the Province, who were at that time met there, as they had done before. (b) *A Council being assembled, it was ordered you should be summoned to appear: and again from the Council our Bishops sent to the Emperour. The Donatists are intreated to meet the Catholick Bishops, which before they neglected to do; who being now assembled there again, the Schismatics are urged to come to a conference with them. So that these Bishops were not in the Region of Hippo, as in the place of their Residence, but as in a place of Synodical meeting.*

He excepts (c) likewise against *Mutugenna*, which was produced as an instance of a Country Parish in the Diocese of *Hippo*; because he finds a place of the same name to have two Bishops at the Conference of *Carthage*; as though there might not be two places in *Africk* of a name; whereas that Village, of which St. *Austin* speaks, is exprelly challenged by him as belonging to his care, and so had no other Bishop.

(b) Vos modo conveniatis qui eorum Conventionem ante. Ep. 68.

(c) Noevid. of Dioc. p. 29.

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Another suggestion he offers against St. *Augustin's* being Bishop of the Region of *Hippo*, because he does not say to *Cæcilian* the President, that he was Bishop of that Diocese (which the Dr. represents as a Region of large extent) but only that he had the Episcopal charge of *Hippo*. And was that Father obliged to reckon up all his Parishes to that President? Or did not his being Bishop of *Hippo*, suppose him likewise Bishop of all the Diocese belonging to it? Or because he does not mention his Territory to this Person, therefore he does not say upon any occasion, that he was Bishop of the Diocese? If he was Bishop of the Church of *Hippo*, he was so consequently of all the Region appertaining to that Church. And that there were Regions belonging to it, he says plain enough, though not to *Cæcilian*, yet to another Magistrate. *This will be most advantageous to the Catholick Church*, says that holy Bishop; (d) or that I may not seem to pass the bounds of my own dispensation, this will be most advantageous to the Church of the Diocese of *Hippo*. And speaking of a place called *Germanicia* in that Diocese, affirms, (e) that it belongs to his care; and in another place, that (f) he had Churches under his care which he was obliged to visit.

(d) Aug. ep. ad Marcellin. 159.

(d) Germanicenses ad curam humilitatis nostræ pertinent. Aug. ep. 251. Ed. Bened.

(f) Visitandarum Ecclesiarum ad meam curam pertinentium necessitate profectus sum. Vide ep. 74, 212, 236.

To diminish this Bishoprick of *Hippo* yet farther, Mr. Clerkson shews, that St. *Austin* was so far from having all the Region under his Jurisdiction, that he had not the whole Town; the *Donatists* had a Bishop there. This indeed is true of the former part of St. *Augustin's* Episcopal administration: but after the Imperial Rescript, which followed the Conference at *Carthage*, *Hippo* had no *Donatists*; for all returned to the communion of the Church. For so I think, St. *Austin* in his Epistle to *Vincentius* may most commodiously be understood; where speaking of his former opinion, which was against using any compulsion for reducing men to the communion of the Church, he confesseth, that experience hath altered his judgment in that point. (g) *The instance of my own City was urged against me, which was once wholly Donatist, but now converted to Catholic unity by the fear of the Imperial Laws, which now so utterly detests your pernicious animosity, that she might seem never to have been infected with it.* So that after all these exceptions, St. *Austin's* Diocese remains undiminished.

Cæsarea in *Cappadocia* had a Diocese of so vast extent, that few of our Northern Bishopricks can equal it. For *Basil* the Bishop of that City, had (h) fifty *Chorepiscopi* in his Diocese, who were his deputies for the administration of discipline in lesser causes in the remoter part of

(g) Aug. ep. 48.

(h) Greg. Naz. Carm. de viti sua.

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his *Diocese*. *Cappadocia* was (i) about four hundred miles in length according to *Strabo*, and above two hundred in breadth. *Casarea* was placed in the middle of this great Country, and was at first the Metropolis of the whole; and when the Country was divided into two Provinces, the greatest share remained under the ancient and greatest Metropolis. Yet in this tract, which cannot be conceived less than two hundred and fifty miles, there were but (l) two Bishopricks, besides that of *Casarea*, i. e. *Therma* and *Nyssa*. *Basil* (m) excuses himself to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Samosata*, for not writing to him, by some great Persons, who had been in *Casarea*; because he was then upon his visitation. And in another place speaks of a Country Parish of his Diocese, called *Venesa*, where he ordained one *Glycerius* a Deacon, to assist (n) the Presbyter of that Parish. And he reproves the *Chorepiscopi* of his Diocese, for suffering the Presbyters of Country Parishes to make what inferiour Church-officers they pleased; and therefore orders (o) a list of all the inferiour Officers of Country Churches to be brought to him, and that none be made thereafter without his consent. There is likewise another Village called *Dacora*, mentioned by *Sozomen* (p) in the

(i) *Strab.* l. 12. (l) *Colligere feci Episcopos sub me constitutos, sunt enim duo. Ep. Capp. pr. ad Leon.*
 (m) *πεποδύονταν ἡμῶν τὴν παρικήαν. Bas. ep. 264.*
 (n) *ὡς καὶ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ δακρυῶτων. ep. 412.*
 (o) *Ep. 181.* (p) *Soz. l. 7. c. 27.*

Territory of *Cæsarea*, where *Eunomius* (q) was born and buried; and *Julian* ordered (r) a search to be made for all the goods, not only of the Churches in *Cæsarea*, but of all the Churches of the Diocese.

Tyana, the Metropolis of the second *Capadocia*, had a considerable Diocese belonging to it. *Euphramas* Bishop of that City mentions (s) one *George* of *Pasa*, who lived in *Gregory Nazianzen's* time; and notes, that *Pasa* was a Country place twelve miles from *Tyana*, and belongs to that City, says he, to this very day. But this Diocese must be much more considerable than this passage speaks, as well as the rest of *Cappadocia*. The whole Country, as I noted before, was about four hundred miles in length, and two in breadth, which makes a sum of eight hundred square miles. Now in all the Country, there were in the middle of the fifth age, but eleven Bishopricks, and then it was all Christian. So that every Bishop, one with another, may have a Diocese that wants not much of a hundred miles square; which can be matched by but few in our Country, besides *Lincoln*. But because the division of Dioceses is generally unequal, as the Territories of Cities were, some of these will fall out to be vastly great, and others but of moderate extent. Nor is there any place for suspicion,

(q) Philostorg. l. 10.

(r) Soz. l. 5. c. 4.

(s) Prælium autem quod dicitur Pasa, — duodecim milliarijs distat Tyanensis Metropoleos, & sub eadem Civitate est usque hodie. Ap. Conc. C. P. 2. Coll. 5.

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that Bishopricks were sunk or united in this Country; for it was so far from that, that several of these few were erected in the fourth Century. *Sasima* was made a Bishoprick by *Basil*, which before belonged to *Casarea* or *Tyana*: for *Gregory's* expression is *ambiguous*. From *Tyana* it was two and thirty miles distant; from *Casarea* above a hundred. And upon second thoughts, it seems to me, rather to belong to the first; for it was nearer to it, and within its Province, and given up by *Basil*, who desires (t) *Anthimus* the new Metropolitan to take care of it. *Nazianzus* too was a Bishoprick raised in the fourth Century, as we may learn from *Nazianzen*, (u) who says, *that the place had but one Bishop before his Father*.

In the Council of *Ephesus*, one *John* subscribes (x) himself Bishop of all *Lesbus*. The Island according to *Strabo* (y) was eleven hundred furlongs, which wants not much of seven score miles in compass. Nor had this Bishop summed up all his titles; for his Successour *Florentius*, in the Council of *Chalcedon*, writes (z) himself Bishop of several other Islands.

(t) Bas. ep. 88. (u) ἡ πρῶτον ἐπισκοπὴν
 πρῶτον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ ὄρει αὐτῶν κοσμοῦνθῶα.
 Greg. Naz. Or. 19. in Patr. (x) Johannes Episc.
 totius Lesbi. Iren. Traged. Contest. quorund. Ep. sub
 28. (y) Strab. l. 13. (z) Florentius Episc.
 copus Lesbi, Tenedi, Protilenes, Ægialorum, per Eu-
 elpistum Chorepiscopum subscripsi. Conc. Chal. Act.
 16.

Selmifus

Now if one City cannot have Territory enough in the judgment of the Congregational Anti-quaries, to make a large Diocese; two ancient Cities with their Territories, may surely yield a Diocese of many Congregations. And in the Council of *Ephesus* (a) there were several Bishops, who had two Cities within their Diocese. *Timothy* was Bishop of *Ferniffus* and *Eudocias*. *Athanasius* was Bishop of *Diveltus* and *Sozopolis*. And in *Europa* there are many instances of this nature; and the Bishops of that Province affirm, that it had been so immemorially. *There is an old custom*, say they, (b) in the Provinces of *Europa*, that every Bishop should have as it were two Bishopricks under him, i. e. two Cities. So one had *Heraclea* and *Panium*; another *Bizya* and *Arcadiopolis*; a third had *Cale* and *Callipolis*; another had *Subsadia* and *Aphrodisias*. They add, that it had been so of old, and from the beginning; and desire the Council to prevent any Innovation, which the Metropolitan might attempt, out of displeasure against his Provincials, who in that Synod happened to go against him. *Nice* in *Bithynia* had several Regions belonging to it. (c) *Tartarus* and *Doris*, and that which was afterward called *Basinopolis* by *Julian*, was till then accounted a part of the Diocese of *Nice*. In *Egypt*, the Ter-

(a) Conc. Eph. par. 2. *Act.* 1.

(b) Verus mos viget in Provincijs *Europæ*. — Olim & ab initio Ecclesias illas nonquam prædictæ Civitates proprios Episcopos acceperunt. Conc. Ephes. par. 2. *Act.* 7.

(c) Conc. Chalc. *Act.* 13.

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ritory of *Alexandria* hath been already mentioned; and in *Pentapolis*, *Ptolemais* had many Country Churches, as I have already observed out of *Synesius*: (d) and he complains, that all the Churches in *Ampelitis*, that was under him, were burned down; distinguishing, as I conceive, the *Ampelitis* which was under him, from that which belonged to *Cyrene*. For there were two Regions in *Pentapolis* of that name, as we are informed by *Agrotas* in *Stephanus*. And *Eutychius*, who is an Author in favour with those that reject Bishops, says, that *Theophilus* made one of the three Brothers, who afterwards gave him so great trouble, a Bishop (e) of several Cities in *Egypt*. But the Bishop of *Tomi* surpasses all the rest for extent of Diocese; his Bishoprick was made up of the whole Province of *Scythia*, which had many Cities in it, as we are told by *Sozomen*. (f)

The Territories of many other Cities are mentioned by Christian Writers, with respect to their Ecclesiastical as well as Civil dependence. *Bethelia* was a Village in the Territory of *Gaza*, very great and populous; and by the account *Sozomen* (g) gives of it, might become a City. It had many Churches and Monasteries in it, built by the Ancestors of that *Historian*.

(d) αἱ πανταχῶς τῆς ὑφ' ἡμᾶς ἀμπλίτιδος ἐκκλησίαι περικύβητοι ἢ ἐρείπα. *Synes. Catast.* p. 301.

(e) Episcopum in aliquot Egypti urbes constituit. *Eutych. Annat.* p. 540. (f) *Sozom. l. 6. c. 21.*

L. 9. c. 17. (g) *Sozom. l. 5. c. 15.* ἀμφὶ Βηθελιαν καὶ μνη τῶν τῶν Γαζης. *Soz. l. 6. c. 32.*

Another Village, called *Capharcobra*, is mentioned by the same Author belonging to this City. And if the Bishop of *Gaza* had but one Church in his City, he must have many in the Territory belonging to it: for before *Constantine's* time, *Silvanus* is styled Bishop of the Churches of or about *Gaza*. In the same Country *Eleutheropolis* (*b*) had a Territory, and several Villages of it are mentioned; *Caphar*, and *Besanduca* where *Epiphanius* was born: *Cela* once a City, and *Berath Satia*, where the bones of the Prophets *Habakkuk* and *Micah* are said to be found.

In the middle of the fifth Century, Bishops were grown much more numerous than in the fore-going Ages; and therefore their Bishopricks were of less extent. Yet then in many Provinces of the Empire the Dioceses were very large, which we may learn, by comparing the number of the Bishops in several Provinces, with the measure of the Country. *Labbe* the Jesuit has published an ancient Copy of the subscriptions of the Council of *Chalcedon*, which he found among the Papers of *Simond*. In that Copy, the subscribing Bishops are digested according to their Provinces, and the Metropolitans set down the names of all that were absent. So that in several Provinces we have the whole number of Bishops. And within a few years after this Council, we have the Synodical Epistles of many plenary Pro-

(b) καὶ οὗτος Ἐλευθεροπόλις, Soz. l. 9. c. 17. l. 6.
c. 32. 7. 29.

vincial Councils. If therefore we can have any certainty concerning the limits of those Countries, we may easily find out a common measure for the Dioceses. I have already shewed how large the Dioceses of *Cappadocia* were upon this foot ; and I have occasionally mentioned *Crete*, the Circuit of the Island being known and the number of their Bishops. *Cyprus* too hath been computed, but it was by the *Notitia* of *Leo*, which hath three Bishopricks more than were in the time of the Council of *Chalcedon* ; for then all the Bishops of that Island were but ten, of whom six were present at the Council, and three absent. Yet about this time did *Sozomen* live, who observed, that in *Cyprus* there were Bishops in Villages.

Where nature hath made the bounds of Countries, they remain always the same ; and a computation of the largeness of Dioceses in such places from the number of them will be certain. But where limits are arbitrary, and depend only upon the agreement of men, they are frequently changed : and a Country may still retain the same name, though the limits have been often altered. However in the present question, which does not require exactness, we have such notices of the distance of places left in ancient descriptions, as give sufficient evidence of the greatness of ancient Dioceses in many Countries. In the Province of *Helenopontus* there were but five Bishops, as appears (i) by their Synodical Epistle to *Leo* :

(i) Sancti itaque Provinciæ nostræ Episcopi, convenientes in unum, Conc. Chalc. P. 3.

yet was this Country of very great extent, as we may judge by the distance of those Episcopal Cities. For *Sinope* was (l) a hundred and twelve miles from *Amisus*, or a hundred and thirty according to *Pliny*; (m) and that little less from *Zela*; and that place as far from *Amasea*. The Territory of this last City joyned to that of *Zela*, and was above sixty miles in length that way, as we have noted already. *Iborea* seems to be on the borders of *Cappadocia*, and to be the same with that mentioned by *Gregory Nyssen*. (n) So that the Bishopricks of this Province cannot come short of the Northern, which *Mr. Clerkson* fancies to have no equals in ancient times.

In *Pontus Polemoniacus*, there are but four Bishops subscribers (o) to the Synodical Epistle of that Province. The Bishop of *Trapezus*, who belonged to that Province, was not there. Now if we consider the distance between these Episcopal Cities, the Dioceses must be judged unequally great. For from *Polemonium* to *Trapezus* there are (p) about two hundred miles. *Cerasus* is in the middle, between those two Cities. *Neocæsarea* is above a hundred miles within the Land; from which *Comana* is about sixty miles. The Province of *Europa* (q) took up the greatest part of *Thrace* yet

(l) Strab. l. 12.

(m) Plin. l. 6. c. 2.

(n) Greg. Nyss. Or. in 40. Mart.

(o) Ep. Synod. Pont. Polem. Conc. Chalc. P. 3.

(p) Plin. l. 6. c. 3. Ptolom. l. 5.

(q) Conc. Ephes. Act. 7. ep. Synod.

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the Bishops here were but few, the Diocefes being very large, as we have observed before. Old *Epirus* was eightſcore miles in length; and by the Epifcopal Towns there in the fifth Century, we may find the bounds of the Province were not much altered. Yet in this long Tract, there were (r) but eight Bishops under the Metropolitan of *Nicopolis*. *Anchiſmus*, or *Oncheſmus*, is about a hundred miles from *Nicopolis*; *Hadriana* was further: *Buthotum* was twenty miles ſhort of thoſe, and *Dodona* about fifty from the Metropolis. *Corcyra* was one of the Biſhopricks, an Iſland forty five miles in length. New *Epirus* which took up a good part of *Illyricum*, (s) had but fix Bishops under the Metropolitan of *Dyrrachium*. Some doubt has been made, (t) which was the old *Epirus*, and which the new; but the Titles of theſe Synodical Epiſtles, as well as the ancient *Notitia*, ſet that point out of all controverſie. In *Greece* it ſelf, where Mr. *Clerkſon* thought Biſhopricks had been like our Pariſhes, they are found to be of great extent, the face of that Country having been much altered from what it had been in ancients times. It would be endleſs to purſue ſuch inſtances as theſe over the Roman Empire, nor is it at all neceſſary; for theſe are ſufficient to ſhew the meaſure of ancient Diocefes, when their number was at the greateſt.

(r) Noſtrum omnium Sacerdotum &c. Ep. Synod. Epir. vet. (s) Tractatum habentes omnes Epiſcopi in veſtra *Epiro* conſtituti. Ep. Synod. ep. Nor. (t) Ubb. *Emmius* deſcript. Græc.

It must be confessed, that in some Countries, where Cities stood thick, there were more Dioceses in proportion, than in the Provinces already mentioned. But then such Countries were generally very populous, and what they wanted in measure, they made up in number; and even there the Dioceses did consist of a great number of such Parishes as ours generally are. The *Helleſpont* was well furnished with Cities, and not a little Province. Yet were there in all (u) but sixteen Bishops under the Metropolis of *Cyzicus*, of whom ten were present at the Council of *Chalcedon*, and six absent, for whom the Metropolitan subscribed. *Asia*, properly so called, and that which was immediately under *Ephesus*, had as many Bishops in proportion to the measure of the Country, as any Province in the Empire; yet here if we proceed upon a common measure, the Dioceses will not be so contemptibly small. I know that *Asia* signifies very ambiguously, and takes in sometimes more and sometimes fewer Countries; but that does not concern the present question; for the subscriptions of the Council of *Chalcedon* do sufficiently discover the extent of this Province. It reached from *Ephesus* to *Assus*, and to *Ilium*, if we may depend upon that reading; but Arch Bishop *Usher* (x) hath excepted against it, and not without reason. However it reached to *Troas*,

(u) Conc. Chalced. Act. 6. Ed. Labb. ep. Synod. ad Leon.
 (x) Geogr. Disquis. touching Asia l. 4. p. 23.

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and the line wants not much of two hundred Miles, comprehending all *Ionia* and *Æolis*, and all North to *Troas*. But then it must be considered, that this Country consists of a multitude of large *Peninsula**, which adds much to the content. For instance, from *Ephesus* to *Smyrna* in a direct line is but forty Miles; but by Sea round the *Peninsula*, and coasting from Town to Town, it is two hundred and seventy five. In all this Province there were forty Bishops in the fifth Century, of whom there were eighteen present at the Council of *Chalcedon*, (y) and the two and twenty who were absent, subscribed by their Metropolitan. In so large a Country, and so full of Cities and People, it would be something difficult to dispose of them all in forty Congregations.

But the extent of ancient Dioceses remains still visible in *France*. *Scaliger*, who was not apt to take the measures of ancient times and things by his own, was of opinion, (z) that altho that Country had undergon many Revolutions as to civil Government, yet the Ecclesiastical State still retained some entire footsteps of the ancient division of the Empire; therefore he chules to proceed according to the Ecclesiastical Dioceses or Bishopricks of that Country; for in so doing, he judged,

(y) Conc. Chalced. Act. 6. (z) Regnorum vi-
ces multa in hac Divisione immutarunt. Sed Status Ec-
clesiasticus, tam in oriente quam in occidente ejus, integra
vestigia hætenus retinuit. Not. Gal. ap. Duchesne. p. 28.
T. 1.

he should keep to the ancient *Notitia* of the Roman Empire. All that he observed (*a*) of alteration, was only the new Bishopricks. But these cannot be any hindrance, as long as it is known from what Diocesess those new Bishopricks were taken; for the old Diocesess were so much the less. It is well known the Diocesess of *France* are not like our Parishes; and yet the greatest part of them remain as they were thirteen hundred years ago. And here Learned Men think (*b*) the Diocesess have the same bounds they had when they were first set by the Christians, according to the Disposition of the Empire. Those that are the smallest, in that Kingdom, are likewise the latest. For in the first *Aquitain* (*c*) there were four new Bishopricks erected by Pope *John XXII.* taken from the neighbouring Cities. In the second *Aquitain*, the same Pope made (*d*) the same number. In the Diocese of *Tholouse* he erected six. So that contrary to Mr. *Clerkson's* notion, the old Diocesess are still the largest, and the new Papal erections draw nearest to his Congregational way; as is evident in this Country of which I am speaking, as well as in *Italy*. The East and West of *France*, as *Scaliger* notes, have retained their Bishopricks in their ancient

(*a*) Id. p. 29. (*b*) Si uspiam alibi in Gallia certe videre licet, Provincias & Diocesess Episcopales — per Christianos primum institut. Marg. Not. ep. p. 10.

(*c*) Pap. Maffon. Not. ep. Franc. ap. Duchesin. T. 1. p. 57. (*d*) Id. p. 61.

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form, and there they are the most unlike our Parishes and the imagination of Mr. *Clerkson*. So it is needless to go to *Asia*, and *Syria*, and *Arabia*, to look for the bounds of ancient Dioceses which have been lost so long ago ; when we have so clear and full evidence nearer home. Yet these Bishopricks of *France*, as large as they seem to be, are much less than they were in the Primitive ages before *Constantine* ; if we may depend upon the opinion of a very Learned Man, (e) and a good Judg of such matters. For before *Constantin's* time, says *Bucherius*, altho there were many Christians in *Gaule*, there were but few Bishops ; for it is possible that two Cities might be under one Bishop, as afterwards *Bologne* and *Teroanne*, *Cambray* and *Arras*, *Tournay* and *Noyon*, had but one Bishop for two Cities. For as it is certain, that some Cities in that Country had Bishops before *Constantin's* times ; so it is as certain, that several had none till the time of his Sons. This was the case of *Angier*, and some other places mentioned in the same Author, which he proves by the number of Successions. For instance, *Defensor*, who was one of the Ordainers of St. *Martin*, was the first Bishop of *Angier*. There were but ten Bishops of *Vermand* before *Sophronius*, who subscribed in the Synod of *Orleans* Anno 511. And *Silvanus* was but the ninth Bishop

(e) Potuerunt ab initio biræ civitates, ab uno regi Pontifice, &c. *Bucher. Belg. Rom. l. 8. c. 15.*

of *Senlis*, who was also present at the same Synod. And the same Author proves (f) that in the two *Belgick* Provinces the Bishopricks preserved the same bounds from *Constantin's* time to the last age, when *Pius* the Fourth erected new Seas; and certainly there are few places in the World, where there were longer Bishopricks.

It is evident beyond all reasonable doubt, that the number of Bishops in the three first ages was far less than in those that followed. Nor have I met with any who called this in question, but Mr. *Seldon*. He indeed being in great distress for his *Arabian Fabler*, who brings above two thousand Bishops to the Council of *Nice*, to save the credit of his Author, suggests, (g) that in *Constantin's* time; and before, Dioceses had other bounds, and Bishopricks were more numerous and of less extent, than in the succeeding ages, when Christianity was established by Law. That the bounds of ancient Bishopricks are altogether unknown, and those which follow the civil distribution of the Provinces of the Empire, are new. He mentions and recommends *Berterius* and *Salmasius* concerning the *Suburbicary Regions* upon this occasion; but I do not find they have any thing to his purpose, or that they were of his opinion. It is strange a person of so great reading should advance a notion con-

(f) Buch. Belg. Rom. l. 8. c. 10.

(g) Selden in Eutych Orig. p. 83. 84. 85.

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cerning ancient times, against the general opinion of Learned Men, without any testimony from Antiquity to give it countenance; especially when there are so many things in the Writers of the third and fourth Centuries, that seem to overthrow it. What! did not the Church before *Constantine* follow the civil disposition? How then came the Bishop of *Alexandria* to have jurisdiction over *Egypt*, *Lybia* and *Pentapolis*, so long before the Council of *Nice*; for there it was confirmed as an ancient and immemorial Custom? How came the Bishop of *Rome* to challenge the *Suburbicary Regions* by the same prescription? And before this, How came *Cyprian* to preside in the general or provincial Synods of *Africk*, but in the right of his City? He was not long a Bishop, and could not preside by his Seniority, which in the other Provinces of *Africk* took place after the rights of Metropolitans had been settled in all the other parts of the Empire. How came *Cornelius* to assemble the Bishops of *Italy*, and to preside when he was so young a Bishop, but by the preheminance of his City? These things are so obvious, that they cannot be avoided. As to the number of Bishopricks, what can be more plain, than that they were generally according to the number of Cities? Those Provinces which had most Cities, had most Bishops. But in the general, it is evident that the number of Bishopricks was much less before *Constantine*, than since. *Africa* makes this clear beyond contradiction; and whoever compares either the Provincial or general Synods of that Country in

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Cyprian's

Cyprian's time, with those that followed in the next age, will quickly be convinced. The general Synod under *Cyprian*, concerning the Rebaptizing of Hereticks, had but eighty seven Bishops, of whom there were four subscribed from the Province of *Tripolis*, two present, and two by proxy, who in all probability were all of the Province; which in the next age, when Bishops were multiplied every where else in *Africk* beyond all example, had but one more; and it cannot be well doubted, but other Provinces sent in the same proportion. For this was one of the most remote; and is spared by following Synods upon that account, as to the number it is to send to Synods. *Athanasius*, in the middle of the fourth Century, affirms, that *Marcotes*, a large Region belonging to *Alexandria*, never had a Bishop, but always belonged to the Bishop of the City. Why? but because it was part of its Territory? So this fancy of Mr. *Selden* is disproved by undoubted Evidence; and the contrary is too plain to be disputed.

The Christians in the first three ages were dispersed over the Empire, so that there was hardly a Town where there were not some; and those, if they had no Bishop, had a Presbyter or a Deacon for Divine Service. Now the fewer Bishops are found in those times, the more of these Subordinate Officers must be acknowledged. Of these there was not one independent from some Bishop; and therefore the fewer Bishops, the more Congregations they must have under their inspection. And therefore if we compare the account

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Tertullian gives of the number of the Christians, and their dispersion in all manner of places; we must conclude the Dioceses of the first ages to be larger than of those that succeeded, if not for multitude, at leastwise for extent and number of smaller Congregations. In the fourth and fifth Centuries we read of many new Bishopricks erected; but of no old ones united or sunk: And those Canons, which forbid the making of Bishops in Villages, do expressly except those where there had been any before. So that by the rules of these ages in which *Mr. Selden* supposes an alteration, the number of the old Bishopricks could not be diminished; and it is plain by many instances, that they were encreased.

Nor could this pretended change of the bounds of Dioceses in the fourth Century be made without great clamour and disturbance: for there never was an age of greater animosity among Christians; the parties were very watchful, and cried out upon every the least Innovation. What complaints must we have heard, if all the Dioceses in the Empire must have been cast, as it were, in a new mold; and so many by this reduction must have lost either the whole, or part of their Bishopricks? If any thing of this nature had been so much as attempted; it is impossible but some account must have been left of it; by an age so much abounding in Writers.

However it is sufficient for our present purpose, that the Bishops of the first ages were Diocesans, and had many of them more Congregations than one within their Dioceses:

Before the end of the third Century, *Manes* is said (*b*) to have disputed with *Archelaus* Bishop of *Caschara* in *Mesopotamia*, where it seems the people were generally Christians; for they were so provoked by the Blasphemies of that Heretick, that they were ready to stone him. Wherefore *Manes* forced out of that City, went into (*i*) a Village that belonged to it, at a considerable distance, as the circumstances of the story suggest, where there was a Parish-Presbyter named *Tryphon*, who had the care of that Parish. So that the Parishes of the Territory had no Bishops, but Presbyters under the Bishop of the City. In the Prefecture of *Arfinoe*, where *Nepos* had been Bishop, there were many Country Parishes under Presbyters, who belong to that Bishop, as (*l*) *Dionysius* of *Alexandria* relates. And it is usual within the three first Centuries, to mention many Churches belonging to one Bishop. *Mark* is said (*m*) to have gathered several Churches in *Alexandria*; and *Julian*, one of the Bishops of that City, is said (*n*) to have had the over-sight of the Churches of *Alexandria*; the same thing is said (*o*) of *Demetrius*, and *Dionysius*, (*p*) and *Peter*, Bishops of that place. So *Basilides* is stiled by *Diony-*

(*b*) Epiph. Hæres. 66. n. 13. (*i*) ἐς κώμην
 πρὸς τῆς τῶν κασχάραν. τῶν αὐτῶν πρεσβυτέρου.
 (*l*) συγκλησας τὰς πρεσβυτέρας καὶ ἱεραρχίας τῶν
 ἐν ταῖς κομίαις ἀλλοτρῶν. Euf. H. l. 7. c. 24.
 (*m*) Euseb. H. l. 2. c. 15. (*n*) Id. l. 5. c. 9.
 (*o*) Id. l. 6. c. 2. (*p*) Id. l. 6. c. 35.

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sius, (q) Bishop of the Churches of *Pentapolis*; *Silvanus* Bishop (r) of the Churches of *Gaza*, and another of the same name of the Churches of *Emesa*, and *Meletius* Bishop (s) of the Churches of *Pontus*; which stile cannot in any construction suit a Bishop of a single Congregation.

After having cleared the main point in question, it may seem needless to take any farther notice of Mr. *Clerkson's* Discourse. For having little or nothing of fact to alledge farther, he proceeds to draw Corollaries only from what he had said before, and walks forward in great security and confidence that he had proved his point. How different his fancy of antiquity is from the truth and reality of the matter, does by this time, I hope, sufficiently appear. However I will follow him still; and when he offers any thing that has the countenance of an Argument, it shall not pass without some notice taken of it.

(t) If the Territory were large, he fancies the Christians were but few in Villages, because those were last of all converted: Hence Heathen Idolaters were called *Pagani*. But the Apostles preached and made Converts in the Country as well as the City, according to *Clemens*. And *Tertullian* boasting of the numbers of Christians, affirms, there was no Village nor place without them in his time. But

(q) Euf. H l. 7. c. 26.

(r) Id. l. 8. c. 13.

(s) Prim. ep. 116.

(t) Id. l. 7. c. 32.

when the Cities became entirely converted, the Heathen retired into the Country; and tho' they were but few in comparison of the Christians, yet there they were most numerous. He tells us (u) *there were many Villages in the fourth age, in which there were no Christians, very many in which there were but few, and but few in comparison, in which all were Christians.* The affirmation of a man who is an humble servant to a new notion, concerning distant matters of fact, makes but bad payment. Thus therefore he proves it. *If a Village wholly Christian had not been a rarity, even in Jerom's time, why does he make it a singular observation of Jethura?* (x) *Villa prægrandis Jethura, habitatoresque ejus omnes Christiani sunt.* Surely a reason may be assigned without making this matter such a rarity. And St. Jerom in the same place does suggest it, when he observes that it is situate in *Daroma*, near *Malatha*. For in that part it seems there were not many Pagans, but Jews. For in *Daroma* there was (y) a great Village of the Jews called *Eschemo*; this being some remote part where it seems they retired, and for that reason it might be observed of *Jethura*, that it was all Christian.

(z) *When Christians in the territory were many, yet being disposed, as generally they were, under other Bishops than him in the City, his Diocese had*

(u) Prim. ep. p. 117.
Hebr.

(x) Hieron. de Loc. Hebr. in Eschemo.

(y) Hieron. de Loc. Hebr. in Eschemo.

(z) Prim. ep. p. 117.

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no enlargement thereby. How far this is from being true, is sufficiently evident from the instances given of the Dioceses of City Bishops; and Mr. Clerkson alledges nothing for proof, but the Bishops of Hippo, who only met there in a Synod, as we have shewed before. (a) He mentions (b) a Bishop in the *Castellum Syrtica* near to Hippo, but not in the Region, for he expressly distinguishes, and says it was *near the Colony of Hippo*. He mentions a few African Bishops in the Territories of Cities; but we have already shewed, that it was Schism erected those Bishops in Villages, and that from the beginning it was not so. *Basinopolis*, which was once a Village and made a City, was taken out of the Diocese of Nice, and was no longer under the jurisdiction of the Nicene Bishop. And so was *Ely*, and *Peterborough*, and *Oxford*, taken from the Diocese of *Lincoln*; and yet the remainder is still enormously great. He tells us too, of a *Bishoprick raised in the Precinct of Cæsarea in Cappadocia*, but at a great distance from it; and half a dozen more Dioceses might have been well spared out of *Cæsarea*. At last he comes to (c) the territory of Rome, if that be it, which was under the *Provoost of the City*. It was well he demurred upon this point, for that indeed was not the Territory, but the Province of the City, and consisted of several Provinces. And the Bishops

(a) Prim. ep. p. 119.

(b) Aug. Civ. Dei. l. 22. c. 8.

(c) Prim. ep. p. 121.

there, tho' they were many, were not of the Congregational way. Nor are all the Bishops he finds in the Roman Provincial, in the Province of *Rome*, within the distance of an hundred miles : but of this a large account hath been given. He notes farther, *That there was not one Parish or Church in the Territory of Rome, that belonged to the City Bishop.* And for this he cites *Innocent's* Epistle to *Decentius*; *cum omnes Ecclesia nostra intra civitatem constituta sunt.* If the Bishop of *Rome* had no Country Parish, then the neighbouring Bishops had the more. But we are not to conclude this too hastily; for it is not very certain, where that which he called the City ended, nor yet what sort of Churches he speaks of; for he had Presbyters in other places besides those in the Churches of *Rome*, and such as consecrated the Sacrament themselves, and consequently had Congregations; for then there were no private Masses. and to these he did (*d*) not send the Sacrament consecrated, because they had authority to do it themselves; and these as well as the other were in his Diocese. To this he adds some instances of Bishops, whose jurisdiction was confined within their Walls, Some in *Italy*, And that of *Dublin*, when *John Papyron* the Popes Legat came over. But all these are new, and that of *Dublin* is so too; (*e*) for that be-

(*d*) Nec nos per cœmeteria diversa constitutis Presbyteris destinamus. Et Presbyteri eorum Consecrandorum jus habeant. Innoc. ad Decent. Prim. ep. p. 122.

(*e*) Usher's Relig. of the Irish. p. 83.

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ing a *Norman* Colony, and the *Irish* possessing all without the walls of the City, the *Norman* Bishops Jurisdiction could extend no farther than the possession of his own people.

To this he adds a marvellous remark, *that the word (f) by which some will have him to understand a Diocese, is frequently said to be in the City.* And of this expression he cites many examples; as if this implied, that out of the City there was no Diocese. But let that instance of *Alexandria* answer for all the rest, since it is produced to this purpose. For besides the City, *Athanasius* affirms, the Bishop had *Mareotes* a Region containing many Country Parishes, and that there never had been so much as a *Chorepiscopus* to govern those Churches; but that they were under the immediate Jurisdiction of the Bishop of *Alexandria*. We are farther told, (g) *that the Apostles designed there should be such Bishops, as they instituted, in Country Towns, and not in Cities only.* If he means by *such Bishops*, Presbyters only; then indeed not only every Church, but every Congregation required such; but the Bishops of the Apostles Ordination had the care of many Congregations. And it is plain in Scripture, that such general Officers they did appoint, and they themselves were of that kind. *Some Prelatists*, he observes, *will have Bishop and City to be adequate;* but he will have it, *that Church and Bishop should be so; for it is not the*

(f) *μεγίστη* — ἐν τῇ πόλει.

(g) Prim. ep. p. 123.

City, as such, requires a Bishop, but because it had a Church in it. It is true; but the narrowness of the Independent spirit confounds a Church with a Congregation. For as in the civil community of a City, there were several subordinate Assemblies, yet but one ἐκκλησία properly so called, which was endued with the authority of the whole Body: So it might be in the Churches planted by the Apostles. Where therefore there was one competent Church, there was a Bishop; but this might consist of several Congregations. The Church of *Jerusalem* may be still mentioned to this purpose, after all Mr. *Clerkson*'s attempts to diminish it. The number of Converts there was too great for one Congregation, (b) yet they all made but one Church; and so it was where ever Christians increased in the same proportion. And therefore I hope to be excused, if in this case I take the practice of the Apostles and of the Church in succeeding ages, to be safer Interpreters of their design, than the novel conjectures of men addicted to singularity. The instance of *Majuma* the Port of *Gaza*, is directly against the purpose for which it is brought; for it had no Bishop till it was a City. And one thing in this citation of Mr. *Clerkson* concerning it, deserves to be noted. For where *Sozomen* says, that the bounds of each Diocese were appointed, and what *Altars* should belong to each; our Author thought fit to change the number, and to write

(b) Acts 11. 22.

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distinct Altar, as agreeing better with his notion; though this way does not agree well with common honesty and good faith. The weak objection which he makes for Episcopal men, and the suitable answer he returns to it, are not worth notice. For here he speaks only to himself; and I do not wonder he should argue so weakly for us, when his arguments against us are so harmless. So the Mother of *Sisera* and her wife Ladies, did doubt and reply, and fancy Triumphs, when the day was lost.

The difference between the modern and ancient models is apparent, as Mr. Clerkson thinks, in England and Ireland. The ancient model of Episcopacy in *England* is something hard to find. For the *Saxons* being Pagans, when they subdued this Country, and driving the old Inhabitants into the remote corners of it; all the bounds of civil and Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction within this Kingdom were lost. But the model he speaks of, is that of *Gregory* the Great, who had no more design to plant Congregational Episcopacy in *England*, than he had to make it Independent. He intended twelve Bishops for the Province of *York*, as Mr. Clerkson observes; but that might have been done, and the Dioceses be large enough. For that Province then reached from *Humber* to the Frith of *Edinburgh*; and about the year 681. had five Bishops (however Mr. Clerkson affirms, that for many ages it had no more than three) and every one of them had Dioceses of very great extent. Those in the South were not all so great, but yet comprehended

hended many Congregations; and some of them [as *Canterbury*, *London* and *Rocheſter*] do remain ſtill under the ſame limits that were at firſt appointed them by *Auguſtin* the Archbiſhop. How they ſtood before the coming of the *Saxons*, is now beyond all memory; and there is little hope left of making any new diſcovery in this matter, which hath been treated by ſo many great men, and diligent inquirers into the Antiquities of their Country. *Marcianus Heracleota* (i) reckons fifty nine Cities in *Britain*, which I ſuppoſe he took out of *Ptolomy*. (l) Many of theſe are placed in *Scotland*, and about forty remain for *England* and *Wales*. If they obſerved the general rule of the Church, the number of their Biſhops might be equal to that of their Cities; and ſo their Dioceſes would be much too wide for Mr. *Clerkſon*'s purpoſe. But it ſeems this number was reduced afterwards. For *Bede* (m) mentions but twenty eight, when he would ſet out the moſt flourishing condition of this Country in the Roman times. As for the Canon of the Synod of *Herudſford* for augmenting the number of Biſhops, which Mr. *Clerkſon* inſiſts on, there was good reaſon for it. For at that time there were no more than ſeven Biſhops in all the *Saxon* part of *Britain*, which then reaching to the Frith of *Edinburg*, was as large as all *England* and *Wales* joyned together are now.

(i) Peripl. p. 92.

(l) Ptol. l. 2.

(m) Bed. H. E. l. i. c. 1.

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The ancient model in Ireland is as little known : for the Legends of *St. Patrick* are but sorry evidence of the ancient state of the Irish Church, and that Fable has been already examined. In *Phœnicia* indeed the Latins did reduce the Bishopricks to a lesser number in the twelfth Century ; because the condition of that Country was much altered, and most of the ancient Episcopal Cities destroyed, or the people Mahometans. But *that it was the humour of that age, instead of multiplying to reduce Bishopricks*, is only a fancy of *Mr. Clerkson*. For I have shewed the practice of *Italy* at that time to be quite contrary ; where instead of reducing, they raised a great number of new Bishopricks, and have been increasing of them ever since. Nor does it serve to any purpose to produce the Patriarchat of *Antioch*, so different in the time of the *Latins*, from what it had been anciently ; since the condition of those Countries had been much altered, and the Christians were reduced to a very small number under the long and heavy Tyranny of the *Mahometans*.

Mr. Clerkson bestows a whole Chapter to confirm his notion of the smallness of ancient Bishopricks, by repeating those observations he had already made : That all the people should be present at the election of Bishops ; that the Bishop was to examine the state of the Penitents ; that he was to preach to all the Brethren ; that there was but one Communion table in a Diocese. All these have been answered already ; and it is evident by many instances, as well as the necessity of the thing
it

it self, that the Christians of the Country had distinct Congregations, and settled Presbyters to attend them, all in subordination to the City Bishop ; that their Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper were administered there by those Presbyters ; that, as for Discipline and Confirmation, the Bishop visited those places in person ; that those Congregations were not obliged to repair to the City-Church, so much as on Easter or the most solemn Festivals. These things are as plain as words can express. *Athanasius, Basil, Augustin*, and several others give an account of their visitations. And *Jerom* (n) cannot deny it to be an ancient custom, that the Bishop of the City should visit the Villages and Burroughs and remote places of his Diocese, to confirm those who had been baptized there by Presbyters or Deacons.

There is nothing more precarious, and more destitute of the appearance of truth, than the deduction our Author makes of the progress of Diocesan Episcopacy, and the rise of it, from the destruction of the Congregational model. (o) *A Bishop of a Country Parish would be striving to get another Parish under him. The third Council of Carthage, Can. 46. takes notice of such Bishops.* Nothing can be more directly against his purpose than that Canon ; by which it appears, that such Country places as had Bishops, were of new erection ; that they had

(n) Hieron. Cont. Lucif.

(o) Prim. ep. p. 191.

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been ever before parts of a greater Diocese, (p) and taken out of a multitude which belonged all to one Bishop; that some of these new Bishops challenged other parts of the Diocese out of which their Bishoprick was taken, besides that which was appointed them. So that the design of Mr. *Clerkson* is defeated by his own evidence. For whereas he would suggest, that Dioceses did rise by the incroachment of the Bishop of one Parish upon another, and by joyning Parish to Parish: The quite contrary appears from the place alledged; that the Bishop of one Parish, as he calls him, was raised by crumbling of ancient Dioceses; and that the other Parish, which he is said to challenge, was not such a one as had a Parish Bishop to it self, but was part of a Diocese consisting of many such; and that this large Bishoprick was the ancient, the small an innovation. I perceive that conscience does not always operate alike in those who pretend so great niceness. For while they take offence and start at a trifle, they make no scruple of sins of unfaithfulness; and represent that as truth and reality, which in their own conscience they know to be otherwise.

(q) *When a Bishop had part of a City, he was unsatisfied till he had got the whole. Thus Flavianus at Antioch would not suffer a Bishop to be made to*

(p) *Quæ exempta de fasce multarum, sola meruit honorem Episcopatus suscipere. Can. 46.*

(q) *Prim. ep. p. 191.*

succeed Evagrius, that he might have the City intire to himself. One may be apt to imagine, that in ancient time *Antioch* was divided between many Bishops, and that this *Flavianus* was the first ambitious man, who would have the City entire to himself. Whereas before the Schisms that distracted the Church of that place, the City had ever had but one Bishop. But the *Arrians* having the possession of the publick Churches, and being established there by authority, the Catholick Party which was very low there at that time, happened (r) to be divided; *Meletius* being Bishop of one part, and *Paulinus* of the other. This being against the rule and constant practice of the Church, it was agreed to put an end to this irregularity, by uniting all, when one should die, under the Survivor. *Flavianus* broke this agreement; for when *Meletius* died, he procured himself to be made Bishop in his stead, against *Paulinus* who was the Survivor. And he likewise dying, his party chose *Evagrius* in opposition to *Flavianus*; who when that Competitor was dead, endeavoured to hinder the ordination of a successor. And this is the story, which Mr. Clerkson thinks fit to bring as a proof, how a Bishop of a part of a City was unsatisfied till he had the whole; as if it were the rule or allowed practice of the ancient Church, to divide a City between many Bishops.

(r) Socr. l. 3. c. 6. 9. Soz. l. 7. c. 15.

(s) When

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(s) When a Bishop had a great City, yet some Village in the vicinity he could not endure should be exempt from his Jurisdiction. Majuma found this to its trouble. This had always been under Gaza, until it was made a City by Constantine. So that its separation from the Diocese of Gaza was the Innovation. Its dependence upon that Bishop, was its ancient and primitive state; and the Bishop of the City did not desire to make a new accession to his Bishoprick, but to recover what had been taken from it.

(t) Not satisfied with one City, some would have two. So four Bishops in Europa, a Province of Thrace, got each of them two Cities under him. Yet is it positively affirmed of those Cities, that they had always belonged to one Bishop; this was their primitive constitution. It is possible some of them were but lately made Cities; and having been Villages before in the Territory of another City, they continued in their Ecclesiastical subjection, after they were made Cities. Yet these were afterwards parted; so far were succeeding Ages from reducing the number of Bishopricks. For Arcadiopolis, which was joyned to Byzia in the Council of Ephesus, and there affirmed to have been so immemorially, under Justinian had a Bishop of its own; as we find by the subscriptions (u) of the fifth Synod. Panium, joyned to Hera-

(s) Prim. ep. p. 192.

(t) Prim. ep. p. 192.

(u) Not. Græc. Leon. in Append. Geogr. Sacr.

lea, was afterwards divided from it, and made a distinct Bishoprick; had a Bishop of its own in the Council under *Menna*. (x) So that this instance, as well as the rest, proves directly contrary to the purpose for which it is produced. That which follows, concerning the incroachment of one Metropolitan upon the Province of another, I am not concerned to take notice of; since it does not belong to the present question.

Having abused so many Testimonies of ancient Writers, directly against the intention of the Authors, to countenance his dream of Congregational Episcopacy, he does not think fit to conclude without (y) *taking notice, what thoughts some of the best and most eminent Bishops of the fourth and fifth Ages, had of a very large Bishoprick. And thereby, he thinks, he shall perceive, that if the Church could have been ordered according to the principles, desires and endeavours of the most pious and conscientious; their Dioceses would not have been so excessively numerous in the fourth or fifth Ages, above what they were in the third. By Dioceses being numerous, I suppose he means the number of people belonging to each Diocese; for otherwise it will destroy what he contends for, Dioceses being by so much more large as they are less numerous. Chrysostom, he says, may satisfy us here. What? In his judgment and conscience was he against a large Bishoprick? bred in*

(x) Conc. C. P. sub *Menna*. Act. 2.

(y) Prim. ep. p. 157.

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the Dioceſe of *Antioch*, than which there were few greater in the world, and receiving the orders of Deacon and Presbyter in that Church. Afterwards removed from thence to be Biſhop of the Imperial City; having ſo many Congregations in the City, ſo many Pariſhes in the Country, ſuch a number of Provinces under his Jurisdiction, as made the better part of the Eaſtern Empire: Does he *expreſs his conſcience* againſt a very large Biſhoprick? Surely a perſon of ſo exalted eloquence could not be guilty of ſuch a ſolecism; his Chair would have born testimony againſt him, and refuted all his Sermon. If this was his conſcience, why did he not divide? Why did he not appoint one Biſhop in *Syca*, another in *Heſtia*, where *Conſtantine* had built a Church that might have become a Biſhop? Or if theſe places were too near, why did he not erect new Biſhopricks in the remoter part of his Territory, or in his Provinces; ſince as Patriarch, he had ſufficient authority to make what number of Biſhops he pleaſed? He depoſed indeed a great number of unworthy Biſhops, and ordained others in their places; but there is no account of any new erections of his in Market Towns and Villages. And his friends make bold to cenſure *Theophilus*, for making Biſhops in ſmall places, where there had been none before. It is therefore very marvellous, that the conſcience of ſo great and holy a perſon ſhould declare againſt his own practice, and condemn a large Biſhoprick, while himſelf was poſſeſſed of one of the largeſt in world, with-

out discovering the least *desire* or *endeavour* to part it between several Congregational Pastors. As for his *Principles*, he had no other in this matter than the rule and practice of the Church. One City, according to his principles, could have but one Bishop; and therefore he seems to be startled at St. *Paul's* direction, to the Bishops and Deacons of *Philippi*. What, more Bishops than one, says he, in one City? No, by no means: therefore he concludes they were received not Bishops in the sense of the word in his times, but Presbyters only. And therefore according to his principles, if a City were never so great, it ought to have but one Bishop. However let us hear what *Chrysostom* says in the places cited by Mr. *Clerkson*.

Tell me, says that excellent Bishop, (2) *what can a multitude avail us? Wilt thou understand, that the desirable multitude are the Holy, not the many?—What care I for the multitude? What advantage is in them?* But here is no comparison between a great Bishoprick and a small, as such; but between many bad and few good. And in this case *Chrysostom's* judgment cannot be contested; it is clear, that we are to go by weight, not by number. The people of *Constantinople*, as they were exceeding numerous, so they were very dissolute; and this holy Bishop flamed against the vices of the place, with a zeal becoming his character. He is not content only to reprove and to rebuke with

(2) Chrys. in Act. 3. p. 655. Ed. Savil.

authority; but threatens to use the utmost of his spiritual censures, against those that disgraced Christianity by their wicked lives. In this Resolution of reforming his people, he bids defiance to all discouragements and opposition. Some urged the multitude of offenders against him, that too rough dealing might drive them to joyn with Sectaries. But this did not at all abate the resolution of the Bishop: He scorns the multitude upon this account, and cries, *what care I for a multitude?* It was far from his intention to cast off this multitude, or to divide them into several distinct Congregations under other Bishops; but his design was to reform their lives, and to build up and adorn the Church committed to him *with many that were good, with a multitude not only numerous, but approved.* And for this purpose he offers himself a sacrifice, and is content to be cut off, so that he might gain many to Christ. If *Chrysostom* had proceeded upon the principles of *Mr. Clerkson*; he must have given his discourse another turn, and said, that since one Bishop is not sufficient for so great a people, and a hundred and fifty Persons are a charge more than one can well discharge; it is fit that you chuse your selves Pastors after your own hearts, and enter into Covenant with them. For this great dissoluteness proceeds from the excessive greatness of the flock, and the disproportion that is between it and the ability of a single Shepherd. For this Diocesan way is an innovation, and raised upon the ruin of ancient discipline. Wherefore

separate your selves, for I will not undertake the charge of above a hundred and fifty souls. To this effect he must have *expressed his conscience*, if his principles had been the same with Mr. Clerkson's. But he on the contrary lays claim to the whole flock, numerous and disordered as it was; he thought himself bound in conscience to endeavour the reformation of it, and to use fullness of Episcopal authority to reduce them. *He does not complain that they are many, but that they are unprofitable*; would they but reform their lives, let them be as numerous as they please; for *the greater their number, the greater would be his joy*. So far is Chrysostom from expressing his conscience against large Bishopricks in the places cited by Mr. Clerkson.

Nor do his other Arguments drawn out of the Sermons of Chrysostom, come any thing nearer to the point. *The Episcopate*, says he, (a) *is so called from the inspecting all*. He ought to be an Overseer of all, bearing the burdens of all; he had need of many thousand Eyes. — *He ought to go the rounds night and day, more than any Commander in an Army*. We must give account of all their souls, when we have been defective in any thing. I wonder if any Bishops can ever be saved, considering the greatness of the threatening, and their negligence. All this is very true, but not to our Author's purpose. Bishops are certainly accountable

(a) Prim. ep. p. 202, 204.

for those who perish by their neglect of their proper Office. But then the duty of a general overseer is not the same with that of a subordinate Office. A Parish Presbyter will not be condemned for not performing the duty of a Master of a Family, nor a Bishop for not doing the office of a Presbyter to all the particulars of his Diocese. But these words are to be understood with analogy to the nature of the Office of which they are spoken; but the measure of the Office cannot be taken from those expressions. A General must go the Rounds, and so must a Bishop too: But it follows not therefore, that a General ought not to command more Men than a private Captain, or that a Bishop ought to have no more Parishes than a Presbyter may supply.

What inferences are to be drawn out of this topick concerning the greatness of the Episcopal charge, and the dreadful condition of those who do not faithfully discharge it, may better be learned from *Chrysostom* (b) than Mr. *Clerkson*. Now since the account to be given of that Administration is so dreadful: He wonders that any should be so forward to desire it. It is strange, that Men should be so ambitious of a high station indeed, but withall so hazardous; that they should sollicite, nay, intrude upon such a charge, and reckon it a desirable promotion to be raised to a Precipice, where without the greatest care and circumspection in the World

(b) Chrys. in Heb. Hom. 34.

they must fall head-long. And certainly what he says to that effect, with a heat and eloquence inimitable, is sufficient, one would think, to mortify the most impotent Ambition in the World.

Another inference, which *Chrysostom* draws from the consideration of the danger to which the Bishop's Office does expose him, is, that therefore the People under his charge ought to respect and to love him : *Knowing then*, says he, (c) *the greatness of his danger upon your account ; You on your part ought proportionably to love and to observe him. While the Pilot is encouraged, all is safe ; but if he be reproached, and hated, and hindered, all is in danger to be lost. So a Bishop, " if respected, can go on in the " business of his high and necessary Office, " with cheerfulness and comfort : But when " he is discouraged with the frowardness and " evil disposition of those under his Directi- " on, his hands are weakned, the People are " exposed to the mercy of the waves. He proceeds farther to shew the respect due to that Office, even under the supposition of Mal-Administration. " For our Saviour ad- " vised the Jews to observe the Scribes, " because they sat in Moses his Chair, tho " their actions were not suitable to the digni- " ty of their Station : But the Bishops have " a more honourable Chair, for they sit in the " Chair of Christ.*

(c) Chryf. in Joh. Hom. 86.

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Had the notion of Congregational Episcopacy ever come into the thoughts of *Chrysostom*, these inferences had been very unsuitable. For then instead of advising the People to reverence and obey their Bishop, who exposed his Soul to so much danger by taking upon himself the care of them all, he must have advised, as Mr. *Clerkson* and his Brethren would have done, that they would separate from him, for they were too many for the oversight of one Bishop: He could not Preach to them all: He could not Visit nor Comfort them all: There were Men of as great gifts willing to receive them in elect Congregations; these should look into the inward state of the Soul, and the secrets of their Families: As for the Bishop he had more than he could look well after, and it was not fit that they should swell his accounts too high by adding to his charge. If *Chrysostom* had the same thoughts of a large Bishoprick with Mr. *Clerkson*, such must have been his Discourse. But he was far from changing the ancient bounds, or desiring Bishops in consideration of the danger of so great a charge, to divide their Dioceses till they should be reduced to the Congregational Model; much less did he suggest to the People, that they should subdivide, since their Bishops would not restore the pretended Primitive Episcopacy.

I cannot omit one passage out of *Chrysostom*, which Mr. *Clerkson* either mistook, or was willing to pervert to his purpose. But as it is cited, it is directly contrary to the sense and words

words of the Author ; (d) *He that hath the charge of a great City, see how great a flame he exposes himself too. — For all the things that are not acted by him he shall be responsible.* Now *Chrysostom* among other dangers, to which the Episcopal Function is exposed, reckons it none of the least, that he is to Ordein other Bishops. And therefore if for friendship or other reasons he shall promote an unworthy person, and commit to him the care of a great City, how great a flame does he expose himself to ? He is guilty of all the Souls the other shall destroy, and shall be responsible for all the things that are acted by him. Mr. Clerkson has added here a small word that makes great alteration of the sense, it is [*not*] and hath perverted the whole passage from the Ordeiners to the persons Ordeined ; and to make all fit, he is forced to change the words. Had he been to represent the danger of those Ordeiners, he would not only have made them responsible for the miscarriages of unworthy Bishops, but charged upon them as an unpardonable neglect, that they did not Ordein many Bishops for every great City, since one, tho never so diligent, must be insufficient for the charge. But this *Chrysostom* could not think of. For tho he is said to have foretold some things, yet the notions of the Independents, as well as the Sect, were at too great a distance from him to be foreseen.

It seems to me matter of great astonishment, to see Men pretending to a Conscience so

(d) Chrys. in Tit. Or. 1. p. 354.

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nice and scrupulous in Religion, to deal with so little Faith, and to abuse the most moving and lively eloquence of ancient Preachers, and words as it were of fire, only to make a little false light, to abuse the ignorant and simple into a belief, that Novelty is ancient, that Schism is Catholick Unity, and that *Chrysostom*, the great Patriarch of the Imperial City, was in his Principles and desires an Independent. Lord! How long shall mean delusions be permitted to have so powerful and prevailing influence? How long shall the Wolf possess the Sheep against their Shepherds, and break into the Folds under the disguise of Sheeps-cloathing? How long shall the deluded People have eys and not see; and the Souls, for which Christ died, be under the power of Deceivers? How long will it be, ere the Hypocrite be disrobed; and the People see through the disguise of those who abuse them? Surely there will come a time, when God will hear the Prayers and Expostulations of his Servants: When the faithful Shepherd shall gather together those that are scattered, and bring back those that are gone astray: When he shall carry them on his shoulders rejoycing and triumphing in the disappointment of the beasts of prey. But who shall live, when this comes to pass? Blessed surely shall their Eys be, who enjoy the sight; a joyful and pleasant thing beyond expression it will be, to see brethren dwell together in Unity.

I should have concluded here, but that my Author continues to abuse his Reader after the same manner in another Chapter, which contains

teins, for the most part, such allegations as he had produced before; but something more being added, it seemed necessary to add some brief reflections.

(e) *When the Bishop could not be content with a moderate charge, but extended it to such a largeness, that it became ungovernable by him; This pretended ruling was no longer government but anarchy: as Isidore speaks of a Bishop of his time. l. 3. cap. 319.* That this is said of a Bishop, does by no means appear from that Epistle: but the circumstances direct us to understand it rather of a Civil Judge than of a Bishop. Under such a ones government, says Isidore, which was anarchy rather than government, punishment went before accusation: for being an unreasonable man, it is no wonder he should act so preposterously, and pervert all methods of Justice. But that this was a Bishop, or had a large Bishoprick, and would not be content with a moderate charge, but extended it to such a largeness to be ungovernable, Mr. Clerkson did not find in Isidore, but in his sleep: for surely his Conscience must be a-sleep, when he knowingly perverts the words of ancient Authors, to impose upon the World. With the same integrity he useth Basil's words: *Through this ambition of governing all, all Church-government came to nothing.* de Sp. S. c. ult. This governing all, which makes the passage look as if it were directed against large Bishopricks, is not in Basil; but without this addition Mr. Clerkson might think the citation would not be to his purpose.

(e) Prim. ep. p. 217.

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The place deserves to be taken notice of: and when I have represented it as it is in the Author, let the World judg who is most concerned in that reproach. *Every one, says that Father, (f) will be a Divine, tho his Soul be blemished with ten thousand spots. Hence it is, that those who are given to change, strengthen their Faction. Impatient ambition invades the high places of the Church without call or ordination; despising the Economy of the Holy Ghost, and all the precepts of the Gospel. (g) Hence it is, that there is so much rushing upon the Offices of the Church, every one intruding into those sacred places; and through that ambition Anarchy hath seized the Church, and the people are left without government. Hence it is, that the exhortations of the Bishops are vain and ineffectual, because every one is more forward to rule others than to obey; his ignorance and his pride possessing him with a vain opinion of his own abilities. (h) Here is not the least notice taken, whether the Bishopricks were little or great; much less is this confusion charged upon their too great extent. It is ambition only that is here re-proved, and the impatience of those, who when they could not in a regular way advance themselves to the government of the Church, became Bishops of their own making.*

Upon a supposition that a Primitive Bishop had but one Congregation, Mr. Clerkson proceeds to shew, that every Congregation, which is always adequate to a Church in his notion,

(f) ἱερεύς ὁ πᾶς. —
σπεύα: χίδν.

(g) ἀυτοχειροτονίη καὶ

(h) Eas. l. de Sp. S. c. 30. p. 225.

had a right of ordering it self, and appointing what rites it thought fit. And to that purpose he observes out of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, that in several parts of the World there were different usages and customs. But is there any instance in antiquity of people that separated from their Bishop and their own Church, because they would not comply with the customs and rites received there? For instance, in *Rome* it was customary to fast on Saturday; In other Countries they fasted the day before. Now did any Roman Christian forsake his Church, because they did not fast on Friday? Or did any *African* part Communion, because the Saturday was not observed there as it was in *Rome*? *S. Augustin's* judgment in this point is well known, and universally approved. He directs every Christian to comply with the rites and customs of the Church where he happens to be, tho he find some things different from the usage of his own Church. The reverence, which the Primitive Christians had for the Forms in which they were brought up, raised in them some scruple, when they came to observe those of other Churches to be different. But as to their own particular rites and usages proper to each respective Country, they were so peaceably and religiously observed, that they were never made a pretence of Separation, or so much as the occasion of a Controversy. Some differences indeed did arise very early between Churches of different Countries, about the time of Easter, and rebaptizing of Hereticks; but in the conclusion, every one adhered to his own way, which he thought the best; and he was generally

generally blamed, who took upon him to prescribe to the rest. Let us suppose therefore in this case an *African* Christian, who had lived some time in *Rome*, and taken a liking to the peculiar usages of that Church, should after his return home disparage the received order of his own Church; and to shew how much he had improved by Travel, endeavour to introduce foreign Customs: What treatment think you would such a one have received from *S. Augustin*, or *S. Cyprian*? Such a troubler of the peace and order of the Church would soon find himself cast out by the severest censures, unless they might think it more advisable to send him to the Exorcist. This was plainly the case between the Church of *England* and the first Dissenters. Some of the English Exiles took I know not what fondness to the usages of some Protestant Churches abroad, and a strange dislike to their own way: They returned home with foreign manners, and set them up in opposition to the order of their own Church, and at last parted Communion upon this pretence. It is not here a place to enquire into their reasons, or to make a comparison between what they chose and what they rejected. This only I may be bold to say, that their Schism is without example, either in ancient or later ages. For who ever separated from the Church of *Geneva*, in favour of some peculiarities he might have seen in *Zurich*? Or what *French-Man* forsook the Communion of the French Churches, because they had some Ceremonies different from those of *Holland*? Or did a *Hollander* ever run out of the Church, because the Preacher was uncovered

vered, out of pure zeal to the custom of *France*, where the Preacher took the same liberty with the Congregation, of being covered too? Our Church does not pretend to prescribe to any other; nor does she think it reasonable any other should prescribe to her: but as all other Churches use their discretion in appointing what rites they think most meet, so does she; and is the only Church in the World, that I know, forsaken upon that account. Yet Mr. *Clerkson* (i) tells us, that we ought to be cautious of charging one another with *Schism* for such things wherein the ancient Churches are like to be involved in the same Condemnation. As tho ancient Churches had any thing parallel to the case of our Dissenters, or indeed any other Church. Sure I am, that the instances alledged by Mr. *Clerkson*, are very wide of it; as I have shewed already. For we charge no other Churches with *Schism*, because they have not the same rites that we use; nor do we so much as condemn the Dissenters upon that account. But in this we charge them with *Schism*, that they have departed from the Communion of our Church upon the account of rites; and they indeed condemning us by their Separation upon that reason, do truly involve the ancient Churches in the same condition.

To make the end answer the beginning, Mr. *Clerkson* concludes with a manifest calumny. *Hereby*, says he, (l) it appears, with what

(i) Prim. ep. p. 223.

(l) Prim. ep. p. 226.

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judgment and charity some among us will have none to be true Churches, that want Diocesan Bishops; —they hereby blast all the Churches in the Apostles times and the best Ages after, as no Churches.—Herein they are as wise and friendly, as if one to secure the height of his own Turret, should attempt to blow up all the Houses in the best part of the world; nay they blow up their own too. It is neither wise nor friendly to charge men with absurd opinions, of which neither they, nor perhaps any other were ever guilty. What witness, what evidence of this matter? What Books or conversation ever betrayed so great a weakness? I never yet heard of any man, who made it essential to a Bishop to have many Congregations under them. The Papists have several Bishops with a very small flock, and such as one Parish-Church may contain. They have others who have not so much as one Congregation, nor perhaps one Christian within their Diocese. But we may guess at the men our Author intends; they indeed distinguish, with all the ancient Churches, between a Bishop and a Presbyter: But for the measure of Episcopal Churches, They willingly subscribe to S. Jerom's (m) judgment, that the Bishop of *Eugubium* is no less a Bishop than he of *Rome*; and the Bishop of *Tanis* is as much a Bishop as he of *Alexandria*; since it is not the greatness of the City, but the Ordination, that makes a Bishop. In the Primi-

(m) Ep. ad Evagr.

tive times and those next succeeding, the extent of Dioceses were very different. In *Scythia* (n) there was but one, though many Cities; and in some places there were Bishops in Villages. Some Cities had very large Territories belonging to their Bishops, others but small; yet all this while, these Bishops accounted themselves all of equal authority, though their Dioceses might be very unequal; and never broke Communion upon that account. But if some Presbyters should attempt then to separate from their Bishops, and to set up Altar against Altar; they incurred the censure (o) of all Christian Churches, and were shut out of Catholick Communion by universal consent. As to matter of fact, it is plain, that in the Primitive times there were no Churches without Bishops, such as were acknowledged different from Presbyters. And *Ignatius* (p) is bold to say, that *without a Bishop, Presbyters and Deacons, it cannot be called a Church*. But as for those who separate from their Bishops, whose doctrine they acknowledge to be sound, and set up Churches, and make Ordinations in opposition to them, and the whole establishment of a National or Provincial Church, These I shall not scruple to Unchurch; since in this I have not only the suffrage of antiquity, but the consent of all Protestant Churches on my side.

(n) Eccl. 1. 7. c. 19.

(o) Can. Ant. 5.

(p) 120. Ep. ad Tra.

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In *France*, while the Reformed Religion stood there, if any departed from the established order of those Churches, they were excommunicated; and if they should attempt to set up separate Congregations, they would have been accounted *no Churches*. (q) How zealous they were of the Orders appointed in their Synods, will sufficiently appear from the case of *Morelli*, and the proceedings against him. Nor is it otherwise in *Holland* or *Germany*, or where-ever the Reformed Religion is received; they unchurch all, who upon such frivolous pretences, as our Dissenters use against us, would leave their Communion.

By this notion of Primitive Episcopacy, Mr. Clerkson (r) thinks, that *some mistakes concerning Episcopal Ordinations, of ill consequence, may be rectified. A Bishop in the best ages was no other than the Pastor of a single Church; a Pastor of a single Congregation now, is as truly a Bishop. — Why they should not be esteemed to be duly ordained, who are set apart by a Pastor of a single Church now, I can discern no reason, after I have looked every way for it. It is the hardest thing in the world for some men to see a reason that makes against them; and the fear of finding it, makes them commonly look where they are not likely to meet it. However it does not seem to be so difficult a matter to assign a reason in the case proposed. It is not the being Pastor of one or many Con-*

(q) Hist. Eccles. de Bez. T. 2. l. 6.

(r) Prim. Ep. p. 237.

gregations, that makes a Bishop, but the Order. For a Presbyter may be the Pastor of a Congregation, and in the Primitive times there were many such; but this does not make him a Bishop. Nay, the *Chorepiscopi* were Pastors of many Congregations, and yet these were not Bishops. If these in ancient times should have proceeded upon Mr. *Clerkson's* grounds, and presumed to ordain Presbyters or Deacons or Bishops; the Church of those times would have made no difficulty to pronounce the Ordinations null. *Ischyas* pretended to be a Presbyter, because *Colluthus* had ordained him; but *Athanasius* represents it as monstrous, that one should esteem himself a Presbyter, who was ordained by one who died himself a Presbyter of the Church of *Alexandria*. Nor was *Ischyas* so absurd as to think, that the Ordination received from a simple Presbyter would be valid. For in Truth, that *Colluthus* was made a Bishop by *Meletius*, and his name is still in the Catalogue of his Ordinations; but renouncing his Schism, and those Orders, he was received into communion as Presbyter; for so he was before he joyned with *Meletius*, and in that degree he died. Nor can I find in all Antiquity, any one instance of Presbyters making Ordinations without a Bishop: nay, the Hereticks and Schismatics of old, among all their irregularities, are not charged by any of this presumption. In the Diocese of *Alexandria* there were many Presbyters, who were the Pastors of single Congregations; and so it was in most of the ancient Dioceses, as we have shewed before. In the Province

vince of *Scythia*, there must be yet a greater number of such Parish Pastors. Yet none of these are found to have claimed any right to ordain: and if any of them should have presumed against the rule of the Church in that particular, the Church of those times would not only have declared the Ordination null, but a prodigy, and think that Antichrist was at hand, and the world drawing towards an end, when such new and unexampled confusions were permitted to arise. What sentence shall we think, would they have pronounced upon Presbyterian Ordinations, when they did not stick (s) to rescind Orders conferred by Bishops against the Canons and established discipline of the Church; and in some cases to (t) re-ordain? *Aerius*, who declared there was no difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter, is represented by *Epiphanius* (u) as a prodigy, and his opinion madness, though there is no mention at all of his Ordinations.

But the case of the Ordinations of our Dissenters is peculiar; and they do foreign Churches great wrong, when they concern them in their quarrel. For first, the Independents have no root of Orders, but their Pastors are of Lay Original extraction. The Presbyterians have Ordination from Presbyters, not only without, but in opposition to Bi-

(s) Can. Nic. 9, 10, 16. Can. Ant. 73.

(t) Nic. Can. 19.

(u) ἢν δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ λόγος μανίας καὶ ματαιότητος, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων; ἐμβροτηθεὶς πρὶν ἔγνοια. *Epiph.*
Her. 74. n. 1, 2.

shops,

shops, against all the established rules of this Church, against the Laws of the Country, as well as practice of ancient Churches. And if upon this account we pronounce them void, we do no more than what all the Protestant Churches abroad would do in the like case. If some Deacons or Lay-men would take upon them to ordain Pastors in the *French* Churches, for separate Congregations, in opposition to the received discipline, settled in their general Synods; I would appeal to any Minister of those Churches, whether he held such an Ordination valid. And yet by the principles of those Churches, Lay-men may confer orders in some cases, as appears (x) by the first Ordination in *Paris*, where there was no Presbyter present; and by the confession of *Beza* (y) in the Conference of *Poissy*. Nay though a Presbyter deposed by their Synod, should take upon him to ordain; I still appeal to the Ministers of those Churches, whether they would account the Orders valid. If we therefore do judge such Ordinations here, to be nullities, because administered by subordinate Officers, against the Laws of the Church, in opposition to their superiours, and against the practice and discipline of the Primitive Christians; we cannot be thought singular in this judgment: since all ancient Churches would have done the same thing, and all the Protestant Churches in *Europe*, in the like case, would

(x) Hist. Eccles. T. 1. l. 2.

(y) Hist. Eccles. T. 1. l. 4.

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follow our example. It is in vain to cite *Jerom* and *Chrysostom*, to lessen the difference between a Bishop and a Presbyter, because both may do almost all the same things. Yet is Ordination still excepted, and accounted the peculiar prerogative of the Bishop. And though in some Churches, Presbyters did assist the Bishop in ordaining Presbyters, which is likewise the practice of our Church; yet is there no instance of their ordaining without a Bishop.

FINIS.

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